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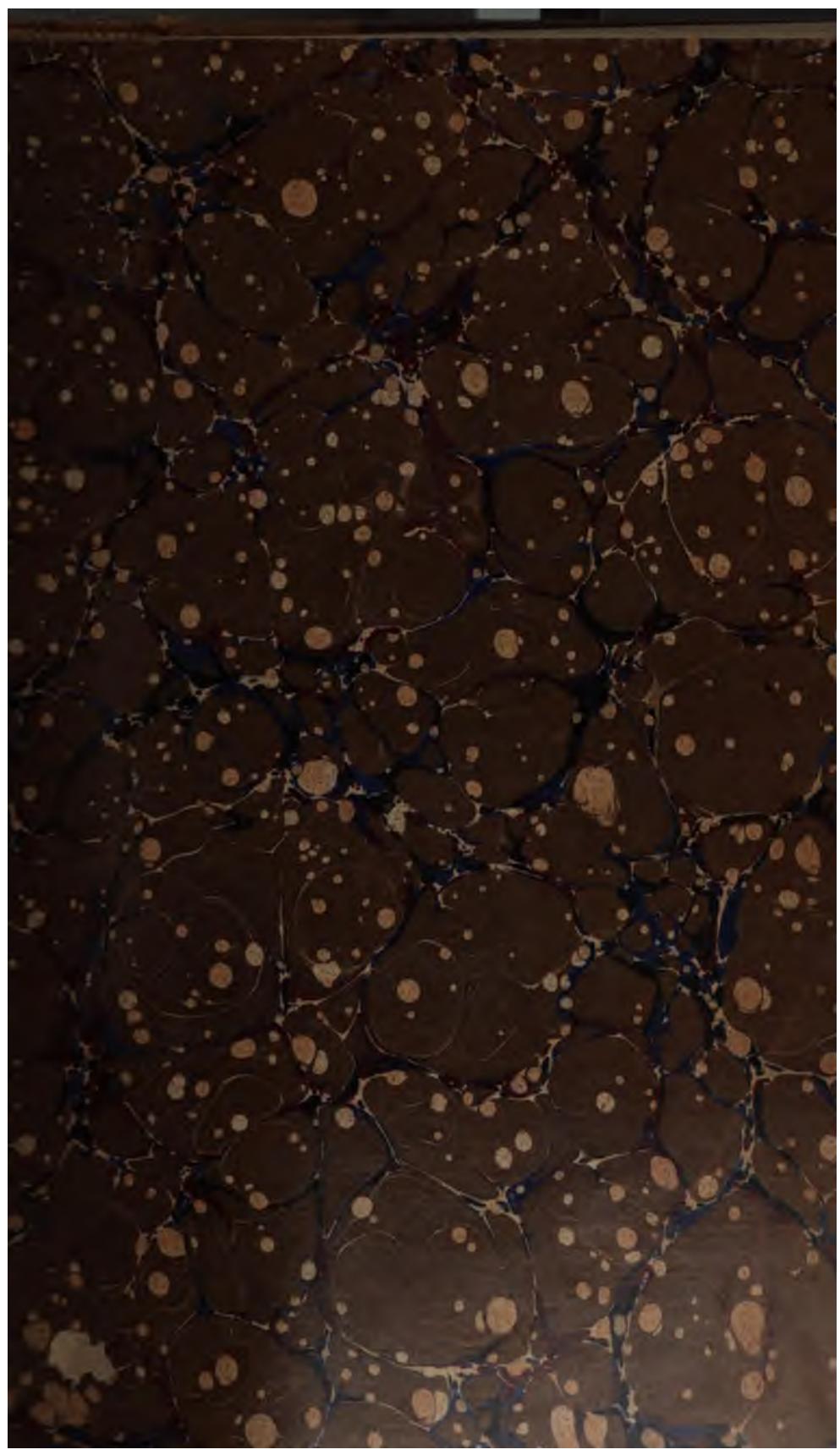
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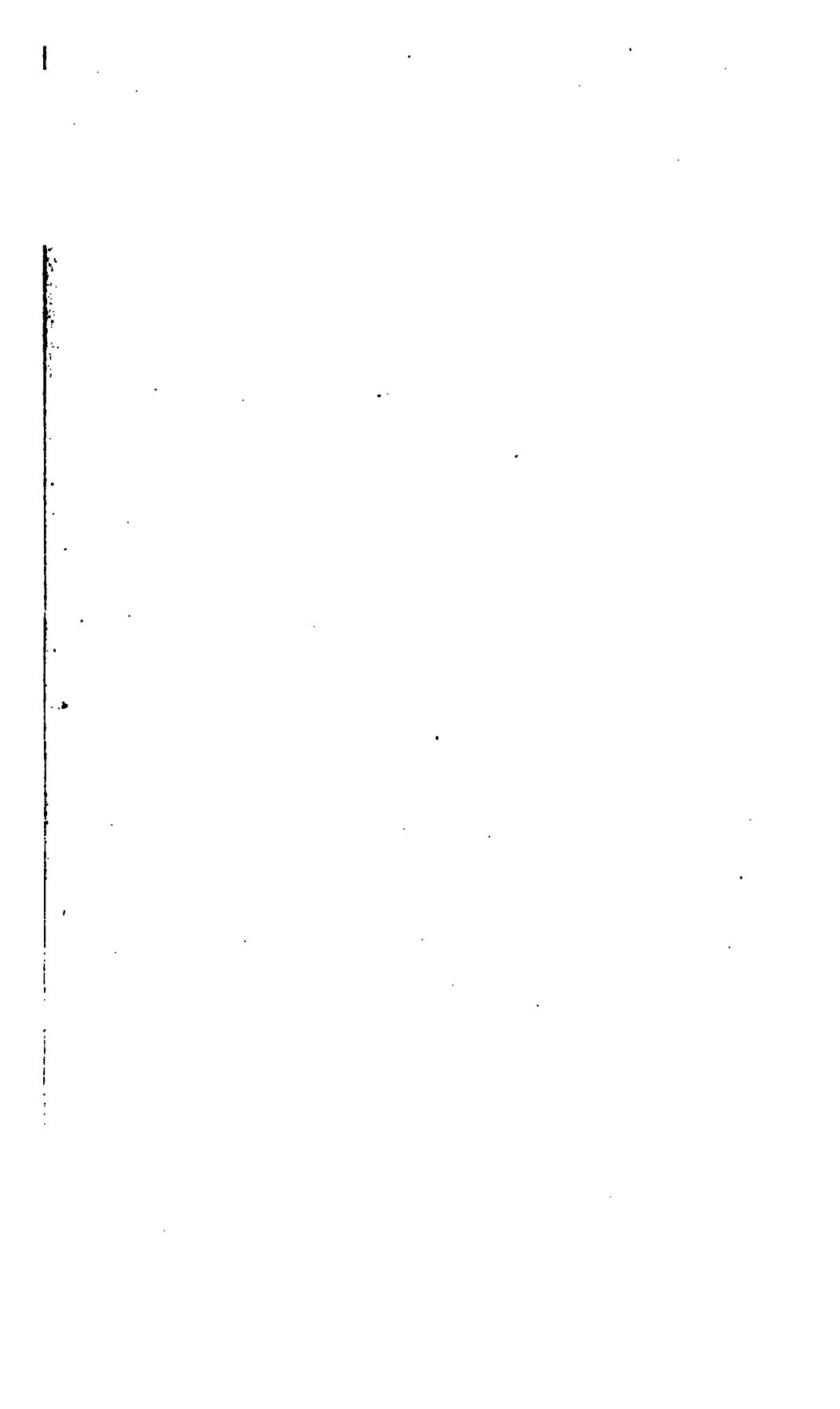




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VOL. IV.

NEW SERIES.

PART 1.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN WORCESTER,

OCTOBER 21, 1885.



Worcester:
PRESS OF CHARLES HAMILTON,
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1886.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

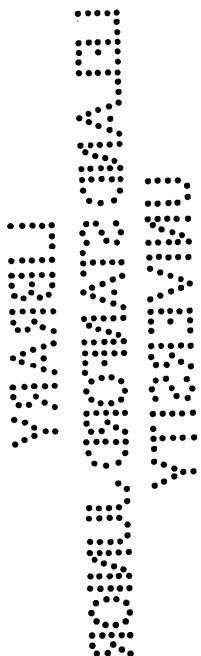
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OCTOBER, 1885—APRIL, 1887.



WORCESTER:
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.
1888.

P R E S S O F
C H A S . H A M I L T O N ,
W O R C E S T E R ,
M A S S .



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

EDWARD E. HALE.

CHARLES DEANE.

NATHANIEL PAINE.

CHARLES A. CHASE.

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NOTE.

The Fourth Volume of the New Series of Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, herewith presented, includes the proceedings of four regular meetings, from October, 1885, to April, 1887, inclusive. The stated meetings of the Council, held during the same time, have fortunately been occupied only with routine matters and with shaping the business of the meetings of the Society. The reports of the Council contain, in addition to memorial notices of deceased members, essays by the gentlemen charged with their preparation, upon subjects of general interest. The Rev. Dr. Peabody treats, in his charming manner, of the Fallacies of History. Mr. Samuel S. Green shows that both Pilgrims and Puritans supported their ministers by voluntary contributions; and this, too, largely from principle rather than from convenience merely. Dr. Charles Deane refutes some broad charges which have at various times been brought against Massachusetts in the matter of the slave-trade. And in a discussion of the Great Charitable Trusts of Great Britain, Mr. Charles A. Chase brings out some facts about the origin as well as the financial condition of the universities, the great schools, the hospitals and certain other trusts.

In the autumn of 1885 "Lechford's Note-book" was published as Vol. VII. of the "Transactions." The history of this work, and the manner in which it came into the Society's hands, are described by the Rev. Dr. Hale on page 6, *et seq.* of the current volume.

Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Edward H. Thompson (U. S. Consul at Merida, Yucatan), J. Evarts Greene, and Prof. Franklin B. Dexter furnish elaborate papers, and Prof. Frederick W. Putnam and Andrew McF. Davis make interesting communications. At the April, 1887, meeting, President Hoar laid before the Society three manuscript letters of Earl Percy, and read from Watterston's Gallery of American Portraits a discriminating sketch of one of our former Presidents, the Hon. John Davis.

The reports of the Treasurer, besides setting forth the income of the invested funds, furnish a list of the investments with their par and market values, and also the condition of the various funds as affected by the income and expenditure. The resources of the Society have been increased by the generous addition, by Stephen Salisbury, Esq., of the sum of \$5,000 to the building fund established and maintained by his honored father; and the Rev. Robert C. Waterston,

unable to attend one of the meetings, sent as his substitute the sum of one hundred dollars "for the addition of any books to any department of the library."

The maintenance and enlargement of the Library is the special work of the Society, and the reports of the Librarian will show the success which has been attained, through the thoughtfulness of friends and with the limited means at our command.

The Index has been prepared by the Librarian and Mr. Reuben Colton, his assistant.

THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

WORCESTER, February 1, 1888.

E R R A T A.

Page 140, line 10 from bottom, for *1776* read *1775*.

Page 155, line 16 from bottom, for *1776* read *1775*.

Page 196, line 10 of note, from bottom, for *Niell* read *Neill*.

Page 205, line 27, for *Joseph Sewall* read *Judge Sewall*.

Page 210, line 15 of note, for Judge *Lowell* read Judge *Sewall*.

Page 236, line 5, for *Hurlbert* read *Herbert*.

Page 311, line 18, for *Lamson* read *Lampson*.

Page 319, note 1, for *Gould* read *Goodl*.

Page 349, line 12, for *Gookins* read *Gookin*. Same line, for *Weld* read *Welde*.

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1885, AT THE HALL OF THE SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

THE President, Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL.D., in the chair.

The following members were present (the names being arranged in order of seniority of membership) : George E. Ellis, Edward E. Hale, Charles Deane, George F. Hoar, William S. Barton, J. Hammond Trumbull, Andrew P. Peabody, George Chandler, Peter C. Bacon, Nathaniel Paine, Joseph Sargent, Stephen Salisbury, P. Emory Aldrich, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, George S. Paine, Edward L. Davis, William A. Smith, Francis H. Dewey, James F. Hunnewell, John D. Washburn, Edward H. Hall, Reuben A. Guild, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Thomas L. Nelson, Lucius R. Paige, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Edward I. Thomas, Frederick W. Putnam, Solomon Lincoln, Andrew McF. Davis, J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden, Daniel Merriman, Daniel C. Gilman, Reuben Colton, Robert N. Toppan, Henry H. Edes.

The Recording Secretary read the records of the last meeting, which were approved. The same officer communicated the recommendation by the Council of the following named gentlemen for membership in the Society :

Rev. GRINDALL REYNOLDS, A.M., of Concord, Mass.
EDWARD CHANNING, Ph.D., of Cambridge, Mass.

Each of these gentlemen was declared elected, a separate ballot having been taken on each name.

Rev. ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., read the report which had been prepared by him and adopted by the Council as a part of their report to the Society.

NATHANIEL PAYNE, Esq., Treasurer, and EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq., Librarian, read their reports.

All the above reports, as together constituting the Report of the Council, were accepted, and on motion of Prof. HENRY W. HAYNES referred to the Committee of Publication.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., in seconding the motion, said he had in his possession a copy of a letter from Washington, dated either at Valley Forge or Morristown, asking the result of a lottery drawing in Philadelphia, in which he held tickets. Sparks, in his life of Washington, omitted the sentence of the letter which referred to the lottery. Judge P. EMORY ALDRICH said, as to the connection of Washington or of Harvard College with a lottery, that a misapprehension seemed to exist. He said that an act only became a crime, or an offence, when it was prohibited. A lottery may be praiseworthy in a generation which has not reached a point which makes it a nuisance. The difference between a trespass and a crime is that the former is an injury to an individual, while the latter affects the public. When the lottery came to be treated as a crime it was because the manner of the drawing became an injury to the public. Judge ALDRICH said he could not see why any man, with any knowledge of criminal law, should hesitate for a moment to say that Washington or Harvard College, for a good purpose, established a lottery. It was no crime in a time when society had not risen to regard it as a crime. Librarian BARTON said a lottery was once projected by the Society, but was abandoned.

Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL.D., was then elected President by ballot, and accepted the office. He said :

I thank you for this renewed honor. The opinion, expressed last year, that the interest of the Society requires a President who can give to its service more time than I can command has been confirmed by experience. But I will, if it be desired, perform the duties of the office as well as I can for another year. The Society was never more prosperous than to-day. But to maintain its rank among the learned associations of the country it needs some addition to its resources. The library depends almost wholly upon voluntary contribution for its increase. We cannot expect, now that so large a number of libraries are established all over the country, that ours will be so exclusively preferred as a depository for valuable material for history as it has been. It is to be desired that students who come here for special investigations may find in our library the means of making them complete. To this end we need a considerable fund for the purchase of books. The care of the library so enlarged, and the giving necessary aid and advice to persons who consult it will require all the time of our accomplished Librarian. Mr. BARTON's unfailing courtesy and his great familiarity with the library have already largely increased its value to the public. A public library, nowadays, is not more than one half books to one half librarian.

We ought also to have in our service, if the Librarian and his assistants are engrossed by the care and increase of such collections as we need, some person who shall direct and pursue the original investigations for which, in part, the Society was established,—such a person as Mr. Haven was, such a person as George P. Marsh would have been, if he had lived to come home and pursue his studies in his old age. To a fund for the salary of a Secretary of Publication and Research should be added an increase of our present means for publication. Without something of this sort the Society cannot maintain its old place at the head of American institutions devoted to its special objects. It

cannot even long maintain a respectable rank among the numerous local societies that are springing up; and there is danger that it may in future times itself become an object of antiquarian research.

The Recording Secretary in a few words supported the views expressed by the President.

Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., gave some personal reminiscences of Rev. Dr. Bancroft and Governor Davis, and spoke of others who were his early associates in the Society.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., during the absence of the nominating committee, referred briefly to the subject of a memoir of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, of which Dr. PEABODY had made mention in his report. He said:

I noticed, Mr. President, near the conclusion of the Council's Report, that the speaker said he had looked in vain for a memoir of the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D., of Hamilton, Mass., and he expressed some surprise that none had been published of him. Undoubtedly this is a great omission. Dr. Cutler is clearly entitled to recognition as a man of science, and as a statesman of enlarged patriotism. Dr. Asa Gray, in a note to me enclosing a scrap of paper, and enquiring if the writing on it was in Dr. Cutler's hand, called him "our first (earliest) New England botanist;" while our associate, Mr. WILLIAM F. POOLE, of Chicago, in an interesting article in the North American Review, for April, 1876, has shown that the country was largely indebted to Dr. Cutler for securing the Ordinance of 1787, with its enlightened and merciful provisions. His life was crowded with a diversity of employment. It has been for many years understood that a memoir of Dr. Cutler was in preparation by a gentleman of Providence, R. I., who had been entrusted with family manuscripts, including a diary, for this purpose; but it is believed that nothing was written, and the long deferred hope of a memoir from that source is now cut off by death. But I

am told that the manuscripts of which I have spoken—Dr. Cutler's manuscripts—have been reclaimed by his descendants at Marietta, and that a memoir of Dr. Cutler is now preparing by a member of the family.

Dr. Cutler was an early member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, having been chosen in 1792. But he resigned several years before his death. For that reason no memoir of him appeared in that society's publications. In sending in his resignation he said, in a letter preserved on file, that he was unable by ill health to attend the meetings, and he also found it inconvenient to pay the annual tax, which was three dollars. It may be added that a sketch of Dr. Cutler's life, comprised in some half a dozen pages, is contained in Dr. Felt's History of Ipswich, Essex and Hamilton, published in 1834.

The Committee on Nominations for the remaining officers, consisting of Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., REUBEN A. GUILD, LL.D., and J. EVARTS GREENE, Esq., made the following report :

For Vice-Presidents:

Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT, LL.D., of Newport, R. I.
STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., of Worcester.

Councillors:

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.
JOSEPH SARGENT, M.D., of Worcester.
Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., of Boston.
Hon. P. EMORY ALDRICH, of Worcester.
Rev. EGBERT C. SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.
SAMUEL S. GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.
Rev. ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., of Cambridge.
CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.
Hon. EDWARD L. DAVIS, of Worcester.
Prof. FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, of New Haven, Ct.

Secretary of Foreign Correspondence:

Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., of Hartford, Ct.

Secretary of Domestic Correspondence:

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.

Recording Secretary:

Hon. JOHN D. WASHBURN, LL.B., of Worcester.

Treasurer:

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

Committee of Publication:

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

Auditors:

CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

WILLIAM A. SMITH, A.B., of Worcester.

The report was accepted and all the gentlemen above named were elected to the respective offices by ballot.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., made the following report, on behalf of the Committee of Publication, on Lechford's Note-book, this day published as Vol. VII. of the Transactions of the Society :—

Thomas Lechford's manuscript Note-book has long been in the possession of our associate, Mr. SAMUEL JENNISON. It came to him from his father to whom it had been given by a friend (Mr. Edward W. Ridgway). Mr. Jennison the elder had made a beginning upon the work of publication and editing, which was ended, however, by his death. Some work was also done some time since by our associate, Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, but he turned his

attention to Lechford's Plain Dealing, and although he used the Note-book frequently in the valuable edition of the Plain Dealing prepared by him for Wiggin and Lunt he did not complete his valuable labors in annotating it. Subsequently our late associate, Judge Dwight Foster, turned his attention to the Note-book and desiring to publish it for the Society, he began work upon it but was unable to continue on account of his professional labors, and therefore committed the Note-book to the care of Mr. Edward E. Hale, Jr., who has finished the work of editing and publishing it under the supervision of your Publishing Committee. Copies of the book are now ready for distribution.

It will be of interest to the members of the Society to note the particular field covered by the Note-book. Its date is 1638-1641. It was kept, as you know, by Thomas Lechford, the first, or rather the earliest, Boston lawyer. It is the daily record of the business done by him while he staid in the Colony. The papers drawn up by him are here, either at length or suggested by a memorandum, and the other business done by him finds note or mention.

The class of people who seem to have constituted the larger part of Lechford's clients shows us the direction in which the Note-book will prove useful. They will be seen to be almost entirely of that class immediately below the magistracy. As is well known, Lechford was no favorite with the rulers of the Colony, and it is not therefore surprising that we find the more prominent historical names are not frequently noted. For instance, the four most important ministers in and about Boston are mentioned only in the most cursory manner. John Cotton is alluded to three times. John Wilson is named twice, John Norton but once, Samuel Shephard twice. In the case of the magistracy of the time, Winthrop, Dudley and Bellingham, each of these Governors during Lechford's stay are mentioned a number of times, usually as signing certificates of

one sort or another. But of the assistants, the name of Endicott occurs but three times, that of Nowell but five times, Bradstreet but three, Humfrey seven, Stoughton four and Saltonstall but three times. So if we should look to the Note-book for information as to the public affairs of the Colony we should be disappointed. On the other hand, of the class immediately below the magistracy and clergy, the notice is especially full. The selectmen of the Town of Boston during Lechford's stay all appear in the Note-book, most of them many times, so too with the deputies to the General Court. These men, the more prominent of the townsmen, were among Lechford's more constant clients. And, in looking over the Town Records and noting every name that occurs during Lechford's residence in the Town we find that forty-two per cent. of the names may be found in the Note-book. In the same way, in looking over the list of property-holders in the Book of Possessions (1645) we shall find thirty-six per cent. of the names in the Note-book. And had I a list of the townsmen appointed constables, fence viewers, water bailiffs, allotters (of land), surveyors of highways, fold keepers and to other official positions in the little community, I have little doubt that ninety per cent. of them would turn out to be Lechford's most prominent clients. So that our knowledge of the well-to-do and solid part of the community would become very complete should we follow out all the hints to be found in the Note-book. Besides these names, more or less well-known, the genealogist will find not a few names which do not exist in Savage's dictionary.

As for the contents of the book, the sort of entries or papers we may look for, the Society may take this as an incomplete list: We have letters of attorney, certificates, depositions, indentures, leases, bills of exchange, petitions to the general court, in one case a medical recipe, commissions to magistrates or to merchants, passports so to speak, articles of agreement or of apprenticeship, articles of

complaint, bonds, accounts, deeds, warrants, etc. But particularly valuable will be found that class of papers, such as wills, letters of attorney, bills of exchange, etc., showing connection between persons and families in New England and Old England. There are also several short-hand letters throwing light upon Lechford's private affairs and his dealings with the rulers of the Colony. These, however, had already been deciphered and made use of by our associate, Dr. TRUMBULL, in his introduction to the Plain Dealing.

WILLIAM S. BARTON, Esq., of Worcester, read some extracts from early diaries kept by his father, the late Hon. Ira M. Barton, accompanying the same by explanatory remarks.

Mr. PUTNAM gave a brief account of the continued explorations of the mounds in Ohio by Dr. Charles L. Metz and himself; calling particular attention to the discovery of a mound under which was a peculiar V-shaped arrangement of stones extending to the depth of about five feet and at the bottom of which was a stone cist containing the remains of a human skeleton extended at full length. The space above this grave between the sloping sides, walled with large flat stones, was filled with earth on which, and covering the edge of the sloping walls, were many stones forming a regular oblong structure. At one end of this structure was a small stone cist containing burnt human bones and a clay vessel. In the mound also were four stone graves made of large flat limestones put on edge and covered with flat stones. On the original surface under the mound was a large hearth, made of stones set on edge, on which was a thick layer of ashes containing burnt bones, and below the ashes was a long flint point. Over these interesting structures and graves a small mound of earth, about five feet high, had been formed.

Mr. PUTNAM dwelt on the importance of this particular mound, the discovery of which was due to Dr. Metz, in

showing how much there was yet to be learned about the mounds of this country and the importance of conducting the explorations in a thorough and systematic manner. He also called attention to some other important and novel discoveries which had been made by the workers of the Peabody Museum, and to the great advance which had taken place during the past few years in American Archæology, which was at last being studied in a way due to its importance, by a few earnest workers who were pursuing the investigation with all the methods of science.

The meeting was then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

SINCE our semi-annual meeting we have lost by death (August 11), one foreign member, Lord Houghton, better known in the literary world as the Right Honorable Richard Monckton Milnes, D.C.L., F.R.S., whose memory has special claims on our reverence and gratitude for his earnest, persistent and active sympathy with our country in the War of the Rebellion, a sympathy shared with him, indeed, by many Englishmen of commanding reputation and influence, but by very few of the hereditary aristocracy, and, so far as we know, by but one member of the House of Lords. He was born June 19, 1809. He entered Parliament in 1837, and continued to represent the same constituency till 1863, when a patent of nobility transferred him to the upper house. A statesman rather than a politician, he was at the outset a liberal conservative, and in later years has been reckoned as a conservative member of the Liberal party,—never casting a party-vote as such, but uniformly the advocate of freedom, education and progress. He has labored largely and successfully for improvements in the treatment and measures for the reformation of criminals, and has been a pioneer or a diligent helper in numerous philanthropic movements, in behalf of other nations, no less than of his own. His literary activity covered a wide range. He has written many articles on a great variety of subjects for the Westminster Review and for other periodicals. His narratives of travel in Greece and in the East were in their time of surpassing interest and merit, and if they are no longer much read, it is because in works of that class freshness is an essential factor of their popularity, and

in part, at least, of their actual value. He was, also; the biographer and editor of Keats. He will be best known to posterity by his poems, and would be still better known had they been fewer. Some of his poems must live, and as for the rest, if they lack anything, it is that poetic fire, which, if it be not innate, neither genius, nor culture, nor enthusiasm can by any possibility kindle.

Had the writer known at an earlier period that the office of preparing the report of the Council would devolve upon him, he would have selected, as is usual, some topic of historical research, and have employed whatever ability he had in the attempt to do it justice. But as he was asked to perform this duty only on the tenth of August, with the certainty of spending a large part and the expectation of spending nearly half of the intervening time where he could have access neither to his own nor to any other library, he has been compelled to evolve a report, if not from his own inner consciousness, from his observation and experience as a reader and student of history.

I take for my subject the Fallacies of History, and my aim will be to show how history, whether written or unwritten, may be made virtually authentic, and may yield its maximum of instruction. Permit me to say at the outset, that I include biography under the general name of history, of which, as I shall attempt to show before I close, it is not the feeder, but the most significant, precious and fruitful form or department.

I would first speak of the personal equation of the writer of history. In astronomical calculations, in which the utmost accuracy is required, allowance is always made for the observer's personal equation,—for the ascertained degree of promptness and precision in his perceptive faculties, so that the same figures reported by two assistant observers would have a somewhat different estimate and registration at the hand of their principal. This equation is almost always a large one in the historian or biographer.

The pun on Macaulay's History of England, by which it was said to be *his story*, meant to satirize him, ought to be generalized as a well-nigh universal law. The story of a nation, an epoch, an individual man or woman, is almost always to a considerable extent an autobiography, and sometimes tells us more of the author than of his subject. Thus, to take an extreme case, Boswell's Johnson is but a caricature of the man whose mind the author was utterly incapable of sounding or measuring ; but it gives us a life-like picture of the jackall biographer himself.

Great men equally with small men depict themselves in their histories. Our eminent associate, Bancroft, second to no historian in the thoroughness of his investigation, in conscientious accuracy of detail, and in artistical skill and pictorial power, yet cannot but look on every important personage or event with his own eyes. His may be the right view ; yet in many cases it is a view which he would not have taken but for the combined influence of his familiarity with the ancient republics and his sympathy with the democratic party in our own.

We all want *chiaro-scuro* in the histories that we read ; but the lights and shadows can be transferred to the printed page only from the writer's own mind, and though he does not make the facts, he does create, if not purposely, yet spontaneously and inevitably, the higher or lower relief in which they are severally presented to us. We must then apply the necessary reduction as we read. We are greatly aided in this by reading historians of diverse—when possible, of opposite—opinions and feelings. They often define, and sometimes neutralize each other's equations, and thus bring us much nearer the actual truth than either of them can have been. It must be always borne in mind that it is the very histories that are most worth reading—those written by men of strong opinions, attachments and sympathies—that most need to be controlled by parallel authorities, or, when that cannot be, by the careful estimate of

the writer's own position, of his mental parallax, of the deflection from a perfectly just view, inevitable for him, he being precisely the man he is.

Hence the paramount value to the historical student of a class of books that to the ordinary reader are dry as dust,—of annals, and journals or diaries. No man with imagination enough to give him a personal equation writes annals; and he who keeps a copious diary of events as they pass, though he be a partisan, a one-idea man, or bitterly prejudiced, can hardly fail to make an accurate record of facts in detail, because at the moment of their occurrence they stand out in their proper form, without perspective or coloring; while when they have happened long enough to be grouped, they may be placed in a light so strong or a shadow so deep as to throw them entirely out of line. Thus John Quincy Adams, with his intense capacity of scorn, contempt and antipathy, if he had written a history of his time, would have drowned fact in feeling, and would have exaggerated every human portrait that he drew; yet in his journal, emotional as it often is, the events of the passing day, even those that affected him most deeply, are related with unmistakable tokens of careful accuracy and authenticity; though this faithful record is often given of events or actors in them that, even in the not distant future, would have seemed to him other than they were.

To take another instance: Sewall's Diary in every significant entry shows the writer's often whimsical and absurd, often intense eccentricities; yet facts stand there as plain as they would in an official and unimpassioned record. He abhorred episcopacy hardly less than he abhorred Satan, and if in the last years of his life he had written a history of the birth and infancy of the Episcopal Church in Boston, the facts and characters involved in it would have been so thoroughly steeped and sodden in Puritanic prejudice as to have lost all traces of verisimilitude. But the most kindly historian of the Episcopal

Church might find in Sewall's Diary his perfectly trustworthy authority for dates, numbers, incidents, and details with reference to ministers, worshippers, the degree of influence of the Church in its early days, the impression made by its special observances, and its actual relation to the pre-existing churches and to the community. The Judge, indeed, makes his own comments on these things. On the text, "Their drink offerings of blood will I not offer," he takes occasion to "dehort" his children from keeping Christmas. Yet we learn from him who did and who did not keep it, and he is even at pains to count the loads of wood and the market carts to ascertain whether the dreaded infection of the obnoxious holiday has spread into the neighboring towns and corrupted bucolic households. In fine, in such a journal the personal equation is not wanting,—very far from it; but it stands by itself, and can be easily eliminated; while in a formal history it is incorporated in the body of the work, and needs, sometimes defies and baffles, skill and care in its separation. In the diary fact and feeling, the objective and the subjective, are like the fraudulent grocer's sugar and sand before they are mixed, side by side yet apart. In the history they are mixed, to the unpractised sense have become homogeneous, and, unlike the sanded sugar, have for the mixture a more vivid and appetizing savor.

As regards the entries honestly made in a journal, the only question is as to events beyond the writer's own personal cognizance, and learned by hearsay. As to these the writer may be credulous, and if so, he can be trusted only so far as he knows; or he may have a curious, investigating mind, indisposed to regard mere rumor as authentic, and always trying the witnesses and comparing their testimony when it can be done. This last seems to have been Sewall's habit. Credulous as to the super or extra natural, on the plane of common life he is wary, cautious, even judicial in his treatment of what comes to him from others,

and records for the most part what he not only believes, but knows. On the other hand, I could, were it proper, name a journal writer, whose manuscript will one day come to light, rigidly, conscientiously, minutely accurate as to all within his own immediate knowledge, yet in his simplicity of heart believing everything told to him, and so blending observation and report as often to make it difficult to discriminate between them.

Nearly allied to diaries are local and family traditions, I will not say unwritten (for everything appertaining to the past now finds its way to the press), but such as were simply oral till the present age of print. The credibility of a tradition—other things being equal—is in proportion to the number of persons to whom it properly belongs. A tradition which is in the keeping of a community, or of any considerable number of persons or families, is likely to suffer little or no change with the lapse of time. If it relates to persons, there are always those who feel interested in checking deviations from truth and fact, some unwilling to confer more and others resisting the conferring of less than due credit and importance on the prominent actor or actors, and thus by a balanced force preventing the original story from being tampered with in either direction. So too, with regard to places, houses, sites of events, there are equally those who feel intimately concerned in having the utmost possible told and believed, and those who are ready to resist and gainsay any such exaggeration. Then too, by frequent repetition in one another's hearing different narrators learn to tell the story in the same way, even in the same words, so that there grows up a common narrative hardly less precise in details and in terms than if it had been committed to writing. Commemorative discourses too, in many such cases, have served the purpose of fixing facts in the public memory. To be sure, the centennials and bi-centennials, which have drawn vast multitudes together, are of comparatively recent date, as are

the laboriously compiled town-histories that embalm local traditions. But occasions of less show, yet no less diligently prepared for, were not infrequent in earlier times; and especially in funeral sermons, in discourses on the anniversaries of special events, and in the retrospective views of local history for which our New England clergy were always glad to find opportunity, accuracy took the precedence of eloquence, and often furnished rich materials for the more elaborate oratory of later times. As to not a few of these orations our admiration has been divided between the orator's skill, grace and power, and his thorough acquaintance with all that could be known of his subject; but for this knowledge he has been indebted to faithful work that won no fame, not to original researches of his own.

As to family traditions, of course there is always room for them to grow unchecked, and the reduction to be made from them will bear a close proportion to their antiquity. They can seldom be trustworthy as original sources of history, and though they may sometimes be of value in corroborating facts derived elsewhere, they oftener themselves need corroboration.

Monuments and memorials of all kinds, fixed or movable, natural or man-made, are of evidential value in confirming local traditions, in proportion to their publicity. A rock, a hill, a ford, where a whole community believe an event to have taken place, at once attests the event and locates it; for unless it occurred and occurred there, it is impossible to account for the unanimous belief which could not have grown up while there were persons in the neighborhood who knew it to be false, and could hardly have sprung into being at any subsequent period without having its unauthentic origin perceived and exposed. So with any artificial monument, relic, memento, article of furniture or of apparel, to which a story is attached, if it be public property, it is difficult to suppose that it could have

ever been received for what it falsely purports to be; for there must have been fair show of evidence in its behalf prior to its acceptance, and if there had been counter-evidence, traces of it would still remain in the public mind. But the case is very different as to articles in the possession of a family. As to these it is fully as probable that the story attached to them grew out of them as that it originally belonged to them. An old bureau or chest of drawers is among the possessions of an old family. It *may* have belonged to some ancestor that had a place in history. The secret drawer in it *may* have been the depository of some document which needed concealment. This is the hypothesis of one generation. In the next the potential mood is changed into the past tense of the indicative, and in the next following there is a coherent story of the document, its hiding and its discovery. The unnumbered chairs that were brought over in the Mayflower gained that distinction in this way. A century ago, it was thought barely possible that a very odd old chair might have formed a part of the freight of that most capacious of vessels; for the owner's grandfather's cousin had married the cousin of a descendant of one of the Pilgrim Fathers. It took some thirty years to determine definitely the stages of transmission, and perhaps thirty more to consolidate them into a chapter of family history, which now it is treasonable to call in question. On the other hand, the articles of furniture in Pilgrim Hall are probably all of them what they are said to be; for their history did not grow up under the careful nursing of a fond family, but was investigated by skilled antiquaries, who would have faithfully tested the validity even of general repute instead of yielding easy credence to private opinion. An individual may be easily deceived, while a society of intelligent men is duped with difficulty. In saying this I am reminded of a case in point. A lady eminent for her philanthropy, a few years ago, sent to the Massachusetts Historical

Society a small piece of coarse cotton print which she said that she had obtained at Mount Vernon, and had ascertained to her entire satisfaction that it was a part of the curtains of Washington's death-bed. Had she kept it and transmitted it, her heirs or assigns would have cherished it as a most precious relic. But as it was passed round for inspection, one member called attention to the device which constituted the figure of the print, namely, Fame blowing her trumpet, and a scroll proceeding from it with the name of Washington. Now as so modest a man as Washington would rather have died than live under such a curtain; and as if he died under it he must have lived under it, the Society of course regarded the relic as supposititious.

To take another illustrative instance, the president's chair at Cambridge must needs have a history. It is so stately, ornate, and skilfully wrought, that it may well have been a throne, and can never have been of plebeian destination or ownership. Yet because it has been the property of an intelligent corporation, no one knows whence it came or how. Had it been private property as long, we should by this time have learned when it was made, what court it had graced, which of the owner's ancestors had brought it to America, and how it came into his possession. In fine, we may safely say, in general, that a memorial of any kind made, erected or acquired by a community or a body of men, is a trustworthy historical document; while one that has been transmitted in a family for several generations very probably gave birth to the chapter of history which it is supposed to commemorate.

To pass to another topic, the numbers in history very often crave allowance for the personal equation. The ancients, in the infancy of history, had no conception of the meaning and the power of numbers, and there are cases in which a reduction of ninety per cent. would not be excessive. We also encounter in some quarters, as among the Hebrews, superstitious notions as to the impiety of

counting, and numbers from such sources are of course of no historical value. There are many cases in which honest and careful writers show the marks, without the numbers, of authenticity. Critics of the Colenso school entirely overshoot their aim in impugning the antiquity of the Hebrew records on the ground of loose numerical statements. The more closely this argument is pressed, the more strongly does it tell in favor of the very great age, and therefore of the historical value, of books in which no one now imagines that the numbers were divinely dictated, but in which the writers may have related facts for which they had good authority, yet with utterly vague notions about the numbers connected with them. In modern history numbers are often very pliant, and take shape from the author's unconscious cerebration. Especially is this the case as to battles and military operations. In the history of Indian warfare our fathers undoubtedly often magnified the numbers of their savage foes, especially as their rapid and versatile movements must by multiplied reappearances have often largely increased their force in the estimate of those whom they assailed. But of regular troops, of which it might seem by no means difficult to obtain a nearly accurate enumeration, the two parties commonly give widely different reports, both of numbers and of casualties, and the truth is undoubtedly in most cases nearly midway between them.

I would next speak of the false perspective almost inseparable from history. The world, the race, the nation, the community at any one time always deserves a fairer record than history gives it. History deals with events, the greater part of which are disturbances, a very large proportion calamities,—with specific states of public feeling, oftener than not of discontent,—with men in conspicuous and commanding positions, of whom it is the best that require to have the least said about them, the worst that fill page after page with their evil counsel and ill-

doing,—with wars, as to which the reader is so placed as to foreshorten to his eye the intervals of peace, and to keep the garment rolled in blood always in sight. Scanty record is made of the happy homes, quiet lives, kindly social relations, philanthropic services within a limited sphere, upright men, honorable women, well-ordered families, that have been scattered, and not sparsely, over a land or an age of which we know familiarly all the oppression and wrong, strife and guilt, want and woe. It must be remembered that the consequences of great crimes and of atrocious series of crimes have been of comparatively small extent. The vilest of the Roman emperors made, indeed, and multiplied illustrious victims, most of them illustrious, but chiefly in Rome; while in the provinces they were not only innoxious, but the subjects of certain kinds and amounts of panegyric, and some of them were popular even in the imperial city, in those more obscure social strata where cupidity, suspicion and malice found no prey worth their pursuit. So has it been in all time,—not that there has been any lack of evil purpose among the scourges of their race; but there are in the very constitution of society and in the power for evil of individual men metes and bounds which verify the words of the Hebrew poet-seer, “The remainder of wrath He will restrain.”

As to war in its moral aspects I cannot express as strongly as I feel its intrinsic absurdity and barbarity; and if holy prophecy is ever to become history, as I believe it will, the age when a usurping emperor and an ambitious prime minister could procure the sacrifice of myriads of human lives in a dispute without merit on either side will be regarded in the same category—if not on a lower plane—with the epochs of the far less atrocious slaughters in cannibal warfare. Yet war, with all its horrors, affects the homes, the social condition, the actual prosperity of a country, much less in fact than in history. The battle-

fields and the tracks of desolating armies, though on the printed page they occupy a large place, are but a very small part of a great country. Then, too, the cost of war consists more in the transfer than in the destruction of values, and of the values destroyed, food and clothing would be equally consumed in peace, though under different conditions. The money that goes so lavishly from the public treasury goes for the most part to citizens of the country, many of whom it makes suddenly rich; while, if funds be borrowed for use in war, they are a present source of wealth; for while a country's credit is good, incurring a national debt is simply using in advance the gains of future years, to the detriment, it may be, of posterity, but to the abnormal profit of those concerned in spending it. It must be remembered also that the wealth on which a nation depends for comfortable living is not its hoarded capital, but what is raised and produced from year to year, so that as to mere subsistence a famine would be a greater calamity than a war. War also stimulates industry and enterprise, and while persons of fixed incomes complain of war-prices, those very prices are to large classes of the community a token and a means of prosperity. Our war of the Rebellion was disastrous, indeed, to the South, yet not as a war, but as a revolution, annihilating what had been the chief element and instrument of productive industry. Had not slavery been abolished, a large amount of property would have changed hands, but there would have been no general or permanent distress or impoverishment. On ethical grounds we might well wish that prolific nature and elastic humanity would not so strenuously resist and so vigorously repair the ravages of war; for in that case wars would not last so long, or be renewed on so trivial pretences. But it is the province of history to describe things as they are, not as it were well that they should be. Moreover, in this matter history has infected ethics; for in the diatribes against war the chief stress is laid on the physical

harm which it inflicts, not on the divine law of nature and of revelation, "Thou shalt do no murder," which, if incumbent on men individually, is no less so on them collectively, and in either case can be superseded only by the necessity which is its own law, and under which society has the right to defend itself against crime, and the state to defend its own existence against destructive forces from without and from within.

Another fallacy of history attaches itself to prominent historical personages of resplendent merit and of signal demerit. Such characters become mythical. Even what calls itself biography dares not to put in the shadows or the lights that would bring their subject within the limitations in one or the other direction of actual humanity. Thus the Washington of American history is an ideal man, and he has almost ceased to interest the present generation because he is incommensurable with the best men they know, and therefore inconceivable. A few years ago I had some correspondence with one of his grand-nephews, who sent me, as an autograph and a precious memorial of his uncle, a ticket of the Mountain Road Lottery, bearing date 1768, and signed by George Washington as manager. It was only to his credit that, at a time when lotteries were sanctioned by the best public opinion, this young Virginian should have been selected for so responsible a charge. Yet now that lotteries are rightly under the ban of a more enlightened sentiment, no historian would venture to connect that revered name with the outlawed wheel of fortune, though the record would be a noteworthy waymark of the progress of society, and though nearly a half-century later Harvard College raised funds by a lottery, of which I have a ticket signed by a venerable clergyman of unimpeached standing as manager. There lingered in the families of early members of Congress traditions of Washington which were never committed to writing, which only exalt his character by showing that he had passions like those of

other men, which he had brought under mastery only by the most resolute and persevering self-discipline,—that he had fought and won in a more arduous conflict than that of the battle-field, in the warfare and victory within his own soul. In his case, however, there can be no excess of eulogy; only we would prefer a life-like picture of the greatest and best man of his age to a drawing out of line of a non-human nondescript.

But it may be questioned whether there has not been an exaggerated laudation in the case of some of his distinguished fellow soldiers and patriots. Hamilton's services to the country have not been overrated; but as to his personal character he owes much of his posthumous reputation to his good fortune in being slain by a worse man than himself, who yet would not have had the opportunity of killing him, had the two men not been too nearly on the same moral plane to exempt Hamilton from the insult of a challenge or to permit him to refuse it on the ground of principle. As for Burr, whose name certainly deserves enduring ignominy, there is no vice attached to his memory, debauchee and duellist as he already was, which did not equally stain his character when he received the same number of votes with Jefferson for the Presidency of the United States, and when in the House of Representatives he received eleven out of twelve Massachusetts votes. As for his subsequent treason (so-called), I doubt whether it can be proved to be different in kind from the certainly extra-legal enterprises which issued in the annexation of Texas, received the sanction of the government, and were defended by the war with Mexico. Burr was doomed to exceptional infamy, because, being a very bad man, he had sold himself to and had been sold by both political parties, and thus had neither to whitewash him or to apologize for him.

The mention of Hamilton and Burr reminds me of the difficulty in the way of authentic history growing out of strong party animosity. No attempt is made to write a

permanent history of events as they pass ; but contemporary documents furnish the materials on which the future historian must rely, and those documents may be mere travesties of facts and gross caricatures of persons. Thus the more honest and impartial the historian, the less worthy of confidence his history may be. The authorities for a portion of the early history of our country after the adoption of the Constitution are, for the most part, newspapers compared with which the vilest journals of our day are clean and pure, and pamphlets of which it is hard to say whether virulence or vulgarity is the predominant characteristic. The men whom we have most admired are placed before us in a garb in which we cannot recognize them ; and had they been what they are made to appear, our government would have collapsed and perished for lack of men fit to administer it, in the life-time of the generation that witnessed its birth. A vessel heaped with filth from one of the city sewers would be as fair a representation of the soil of Worcester as these documents give of American life and character at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century. Meanwhile, the actual history of the Federalist party, which, whatever may have been its errors, had in it more of public virtue and of private worth than any party that has succeeded it, remains unwritten, while those who remember its latter days and its great men who survived it are fast passing away.

It may be doubted whether a perfectly fair history of our great Rebellion will ever be written. From the South we can not expect it. But what Northern historian will dare to tell, as it ought to be told, the shameful story of the sycophancy of Northern statesmen which by base compromises and concessions nursed the slave-power into its capacity of rebellion ? Nor yet shall we want posterity to know that, notwithstanding the patently adverse meaning of the Constitution, the right of secession was claimed by

our best and most patriotic men during the last war with Great Britain, that even as late as the admission of Texas it was not regarded with disfavor, and that at all Southern seminaries of learning the prior claim of the state over the nation to the allegiance of its citizens had been still inculcated as incontrovertibly sound doctrine. These considerations do not, indeed, absolve the leaders of the Rebellion of their manifold truculence and treachery; but they do exculpate the multitudes of peaceable and well-meaning citizens, and even the officers in the army and navy, who, when on the actual secession of a State the conflict of allegiance arose, did what they had always been taught to regard as their duty even more than their right. Instances of this kind within our own familiar knowledge may well lead us to question the authenticity of portions of earlier history that belong to periods of civil strife, whether of words or of arms. The very conditions of such times can hardly have failed in a greater or less degree to corrupt the original sources from which historians have been compelled to draw.

If there be truth in what has been said, there is at best only limited and approximate truth in what calls itself history. But let me say, and it will be my last topic in a paper already long enough, the most authentic and instructive form of history is biography,—the journals or autobiography of men too wise to deceive themselves and too honest to deceive others, and lives of distinguished or representative men written by competent and dispassionate biographers. A man who holds in his time and community a foremost place so enters into relation with all the phases of society and of public life, is brought into intercourse with so many persons, is so affected by passing events, or so aids in bringing them to pass, that a sketch of him is a negative of his surroundings, from which they may be photographed with the nearest approach to accuracy. Then too, such a man is made by antecedent history, and helps

to make subsequent history, so that the photograph reaches in both directions beyond his lifetime. Thus Plutarch's Lives are the best ancient histories that we have, because, instead of chronicling events, they show us what we are most concerned to know,—man in history, how history made men, how men made history. We have, especially under the authorship and editorship of Mr. Sparks, a not dissimilar service performed for American history; for not only in his Washington and Franklin, but in the numerous memoirs, prepared under his direction, of lesser, yet important and influential men in various departments of life, we have more exact and realizable views of society and of events than the best formal history can possibly give us. In this respect our mother country is preëminently rich, and I do not know an epoch or section of English history which I cannot read the most instructively in the lives of those who bore part in it; while such series as Campbell's Chief Justices, or Hook's Archbishops of Canterbury—both of these, indeed, needing large allowance for the personal equation—might almost take the place of works purporting to be continuous history.

As a familiar instance of the relation which biography bears to history, I might again refer to that marvellous autobiography, Sewall's Diary. This for the time that it covers is almost a history of Massachusetts, and it gives some realistic and instructive pictures, the like of which we can find nowhere else. When we learn that, though he was, perhaps, the richest man in Boston, his ink froze in his wife's room while he was writing; when we find that, not for pleasure, but for business, the water-passage between Boston and Cambridge was often resorted to, and are told of instances when the vessel, with reverend and honored freight, was cast away on this passage under circumstances of imminent peril,—we can imagine how hard life was in New England a century and a half ago,—of how little worth in point of comfort and enjoyment this

earthly existence must have seemed; and we are better able to account for and to excuse the indifference to life manifested in the sanguinary laws of our fathers, and in modes of thought, feeling and action in accordance with these laws.

At this point I was intending to close my report by an illustration of the wealth of materials which a single biography may furnish for general history, in the case of a biography which I believe to be in existence, and which I supposed to be in print till I sought for it in vain in our libraries,—that of a former member of this society, whom I recollect as having seen in my early boyhood, Rev. Manasseh Cutler. The son of a New England farmer, first a lawyer, engaged for a time in the whale fishery, chaplain in the army of the Revolution; an honorary member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and as such, assisting in *post mortem* examinations conducted by some of the most distinguished members of the faculty; the earliest of American botanists, making some important and permanent additions to the pharmacopœia in the department of medical botany, and utilizing the silk of the common *Asclepias* or silk-weed in ways which would not have fallen out of use but for the increased production of cotton; reading before the American Academy papers on transits and eclipses, and furnishing for that body minute and carefully tabulated meteorological observations; lobbying with the Continental Congress for the Ohio grant, and superintending its settlement in person; a member of the Congress of the United States for two successive terms in the earlier years of the present century; for more than half a century exercising the functions and practising the generous hospitality of a country clergyman; intimate with men in public office and with men of science from Franklin downward; always, even in old age, in advance of his time, keeping, too, a journal covering, I think, nearly his whole life, certainly its most important portions,—he came into contact with almost

every interest of which history takes cognizance, and his life, if we had it, would at many points teach us more, and more vividly and impressively, than we could by any possibility learn from the most elaborate and faithfully written impersonal history.

For the Council,

ANDREW P. PEABODY.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society submits his semi-annual report, made up to October 20, 1885.

The Librarian's and General Fund shows a balance of \$40,137.80, a slight increase over that reported in April last.

The Collection and Research Fund, which at the time the last report was presented showed a balance of \$18,078.03, now amounts to \$18,099.68, the income of the Fund being enough to meet the charges for the six months and show a slight increase in the aggregate.

The Bookbinding Fund now amounts to \$6,373.64, an increase of about two hundred dollars over the sum reported in April last. The charges to this Fund have usually been more than the income, but as no binding has been done the past six months and it has not been necessary to charge to it any part of the salary of the Assistant-Librarian (as has been the custom), the Treasurer is able to report the above named increase.

The Publishing Fund is now \$19,541.75, but from this there will soon have to be taken the expense of printing the last number of our Proceedings. The sum of five hundred dollars has been given to this Fund for the purpose of enabling the Society to pay any balance due for the publication of the Lechford Note-book. It will be remembered that a special subscription was made for this object, about nine hundred dollars having been subscribed of which amount \$729.00 has been paid in. It is estimated that the cost of the publication will be about \$1,500, so that it will be necessary to raise about \$100 more to prevent drawing upon the principal of the Fund.

The gift above referred to comes from the estate of the

late Robert Waterston, of Boston, from a fund left by him for distribution by his Executors, and was transmitted by our associate Charles Deane, LL.D.

The Isaac Davis Book Fund after a charge of \$57.37 for the purchase of books now amounts to \$1,576.90.

The Lincoln Legacy Fund is \$2,282.97.

The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund now amounts to \$1,177.50. A small sum has been taken from this Fund for the purchase of local histories.

The Salisbury Building Fund is now \$234.30.

The Alden Fund now amounts to \$1,151.26, after charging about \$100 for expenses incurred in the preparation of manuscripts and broadsides for cataloguing.

The Tenney Fund is now \$5,125, the income of which will be carried to the Publishing Fund as has been the custom heretofore.

The Haven Fund now amounts to \$1,123.58, and *The George Chandler Fund* to \$509.39. Small amounts have been taken from the income of each of these Funds for the purchase of books.

The aggregate of the various Funds as shown by the detailed statement of receipts and disbursements submitted herewith is \$97,333.77.

The cash on hand, including the subscriptions to the Lechford Note-book, and after deducting \$500 paid to J. Wilson & Son on account of printing, is \$11,579.80. The cash balance is on interest at a low rate, but the larger portion of it will be invested as soon as the Finance Committee shall be able to do so with promise of safety.

STATEMENT OF THE CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

1885, April 18. Balance of Fund,.....	\$40,116.10
1885, Oct. 20. Assessments to date,.....	245.00
Income from investments,.....	1,109.00
	<hr/>
	\$41,470.10
Paid for salaries and incidental expenses,.....	1,832.30
1885, Oct. 20. Present amount of the Fund,.....	\$40,137.80

Invested in:

Bank Stock,.....	\$9,000.00
Railroad Stock,.....	2,000 00
Railroad Bonds,.....	9,200.00
Gas Co. Stock,.....	500.00
Mortgage Notes,.....	19,300.00
Cash,.....	137.80
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	\$40,187.80

The Collection and Research Fund.

1885, April 18. Balance of Fund,.....	\$18,078.03
1885, Oct. 20. Income from investments,.....	388.25
1885, Oct. 20. Books sold,.....	96.95
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	\$18,568.28
Paid part of salaries of Assistant-Librarians,.....	\$449.27
For books and other Collections,.....	19.28
	<hr/>
	\$468.55
1885, Oct. 20. Present amount of the Fund,.....	\$18,099.68

Invested in:

Bank Stock,.....	\$5,800.00
Railroad Stock,.....	5,300.00
Railroad Bonds,.....	4,000.00
Mortgage Note,.....	2,150.00
Cash,.....	849.68
	<hr/>
	\$18,099.68

The Bookbinding Fund.

1885, April 18. Balance of the Fund,.....	\$6,140.14
1885, Oct. 20. Income from investments,.....	233.50
1885, Oct. 20. Present amount of the Fund,.....	\$6,373.64

Invested in:

Bank Stock,.....	\$2,700.00
Railroad Stock,.....	800.00
Railroad Bonds,	2,600.00
Cash,.....	273.64
	<hr/>
	\$6,373.64

The Publishing Fund.

1885, April 18. Balance of the Fund,.....	\$18,688.99
1885, Oct. 20. Income from investments,.....	396.76
1885, Oct. 20. For Publications sold,.....	17.75
1885, Oct. 20. Gift to the Fund,.....	500.00
	<u> </u>
	\$19,608.50
Paid on account of Publications,.....	61.75
	<u> </u>
	\$19,541.75

Invested in :

Bank Stock,.....	\$2,100.00
Railroad Bonds,.....	5,500.00
City Bond,.....	1,000.00
Mortgage Notes,.....	1,800.00
Cash,.....	9,141.75
	<u> </u>
	\$19,541.75

The Isaac Davis Book Fund.

1885, April 18. Balance of Fund,.....	\$1,601.77
1885, Oct. 20. Income to date,.....	32.50
	<u> </u>
	\$1,634.27
Paid for Books,.....	57.37
	<u> </u>
1885, Oct. 20. Present amount of the Fund,.....	\$1,576.90

Invested in :

Bank Stock,.....	\$700.00
Railroad Stock,.....	800.00
Cash,	76.90
	<u> </u>
	\$1,576.90

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

1885, April 18. Balance of the Fund,.....	\$2,244.97
1885, Oct. 20. Income to date,.....	38.00
	<u> </u>
1885, Oct. 20. Present amount of the Fund,.....	\$2,282.97

Invested in :

Bank Stock,.....	\$2,100.00
Cash,.....	182.97
	<u> </u>
	\$2,282.97

The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.

1885, April 18. Balance of Fund,.....	\$1,151.90
1885, Oct. 20. Interest to date,.....	35.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,186.90
Paid for local histories,.....	9.40
	<hr/>
1885, Oct. 20. Present amount of the Fund,.....	\$1,177.50

Invested in:

Railroad Bond,.....	\$1,000.00
Cash,.....	177.50
	<hr/>
	\$1,177.50

The Alden Fund.

1885, April 18. Balance of Fund,.....	\$1,216.88
1885, Oct. 20. Income to date,.....	35.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,251.88
Paid on account of cataloguing,.....	100.62
	<hr/>
1885, Oct. 20. Present amount of the Fund,.....	\$1,151.26

Invested in:

Railroad Bond,.....	\$1,000.00
Cash,.....	151.26
	<hr/>
	\$1,151.26

The Salisbury Building Fund.

1885, April 18. Balance of Fund,.....	\$256.80
Interest,	2.50
	<hr/>
	\$259.30
Paid for work on building,.....	25.00
	<hr/>
1885, Oct. 20. Present amount of the Fund (in cash),.....	\$234.30

The Tenney Fund.

1885, April 18. Balance of Fund,.....	\$5,000.00
1885, Oct. 20. Income to date,.....	125.00
	<hr/>
1885, Oct. 20. Present amount of the Fund,.....	\$5,125.00

Invested in:

Mortgage Notes,.....	\$5,000.00
Cash,.....	125.00

The Haven Fund.

1885, April 18. Balance of Fund,.....	\$1,125.06
1885, Oct. 20. Interest,	22.28
	<hr/>
	\$1,147.33
Paid for books,.....	23.75
	<hr/>
1885, Oct. 20. Present amount of the Fund (deposited in Savings Bank),.....	\$1,123.58

The George Chandler Fund.

1885, April 18. Balance of Fund,.....	\$517.74
1885, Oct. 20. Interest to date,.....	10.20
	<hr/>
	\$527.94
Paid for books,.....	18.55
	<hr/>
1885, Oct. 20. Present amount of the Fund (in Savings Bank),.....	\$509.39
	<hr/>
Total of the twelve Funds,.....	\$97,333.77

Cash on hand, included in foregoing statement:

Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$187.80
Collection and Research Fund,.....	849.08
Bookbinding Fund,.....	273.64
Publishing Fund,.....	9,141.75
Isaac Davis Book Fund.....	76.90
Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	182.97
B. F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	177.50
Alden Fund,.....	151.26
Salisbury Building Fund,.....	234.30
Tenney Fund,.....	125.00
	<hr/>
	\$11,350.80
For Publication of Lechford Note-book,.....	229.00
	<hr/>
Total cash,.....	\$11,579.80

WORCESTER, October 20, 1885.

Respectfully submitted,

NATHL. PAINE, *Treasurer.*

WORCESTER, October 27, 1885.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 20, 1885, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him for the several Funds are as stated, and that the balance of cash on hand is accounted for.

CHARLES A. CHASE.
WM. A. SMITH.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

It would, perhaps, remind us of the ripe age to which our American Antiquarian Society has arrived, if your Librarian were to follow the almost universal custom and refer to the present as the seventy-third annual or the one hundred and forty-sixth semi-annual report upon its library. He will not, however, allow a statement of the length of time which has elapsed since the incorporation, October twenty-fourth, A. D., 1812, to suggest the possible trial of your patience by a too long report.

As we take some of our best lessons from the past, and often do not think to acknowledge them, your Librarian would at this time, just fifty years from the death of our third librarian, Christopher Columbus Baldwin, make grateful mention of the many helpful evidences of our indebtedness to his scholarship, industry and good sense. Serving from 1827, when he was elected both a member of the Society and its Librarian, until 1830, when he withdrew for a short period; he again took the position just after President Thomas's death in 1831, and faithfully held it until his sudden death at Norwich, Ohio, August 20, 1835, at the early age of thirty-five. He was the son of Eden Baldwin, of Templeton, Mass., and was born August 1, 1800. Both the picture by Chester Harding, which adorns these walls, and the pen-portrait by his devoted friend and co-worker, William Lincoln, which appears in a memorial address read at the Society's annual meeting, October 23, 1835, are pronounced true to the life by the few early friends who survive him. Mr. Baldwin's reports appear to have been generally spread upon the records,

but not to have been printed, except possibly in the newspapers of the time. A fragment of his last report—for April, 1835—we have recently found in a box of his papers. As it was written but three months before his death, is not recorded, and contains wise counsel for us to-day, I shall ask that he may thus speak to us. He says :

"The Librarian, at the annual meeting on the 23rd October, last (1834), indulged the belief that he should be able to complete the catalogue of the library before the semi-annual meeting in May; in this, however, he has been disappointed. Since the meeting in October he has been engaged in transcribing and preparing it for publication. Between this and the meeting in October, he expects to be able to complete the transcript and to compare each publication described on the catalogue with each publication in the library. It was one of the objects of the liberal founder of the institution that its library should contain a complete collection of the productions of American authors. In pursuance of this plan, the Librarian has bestowed as much time as could be spared from other duties in collecting publications of American origin. It is believed that no institution in the country has proposed the accomplishment of a similar object. The materials of history are found originally in pamphlets, newspapers and publications of this description. These exist in great abundance in every part of the community, and are permitted to perish from the impression that no use can be made of them. They are, however, indispensably necessary to the successful accomplishment of the labors of the historian. It is feared that a great number of those published in the early settlement of the country are irrevocably lost. Until within a few years past no place had been provided for their reception and preservation. Individuals had, in some instances, attempted to make collections and succeeded to a certain extent, but the result of their industry in this respect has availed little, from the fact that at their decease their collections have been distributed among heirs like other property. This was the case with the voluminous collections of the Mathers, and those of Thomas Prince which he began when he was in college, have

shared a fate but little better. It is believed that the collections now in the Historical Society, derived from the industry of this indefatigable collector, comprise only a fragment of the whole which he left at his death. A large quantity of his manuscripts and books were sold at auction about 1800, in the County of Worcester, and are now so scattered as to forbid all hope of their recovery. This was, undoubtedly, the largest collection that had been made in the country at that time and the destruction of so great a portion of it is now much to be lamented."

We have lately been obliged to decline, with regret, on account of the lack of funds which could be devoted to that purpose, unusual opportunities for procuring both Northern and Southern periodicals relating to the War of the Rebellion. Within a month a war file of the New York Herald, in binding, has been offered to us for one hundred dollars, and within a week we have been asked by one of our members, who was a colonel in the Confederate service, to secure the Richmond Daily Sentinel complete, *i. e.*, from March 11, 1863, to April 1, 1865, and the Despatch, Enquirer, Examiner, and Whig—all of Richmond—for the months of May, June and July, 1864. These we can have "at such prices as the purchaser may deem reasonable." What if we could put along-side our New York Tribune story of the war, that of the Herald and World, adding to them files of Richmond and Charleston newspapers of the same period! How grateful the future Bancroft, McMaster or Fiske would be to us as a society, or to the founder of a society fund the use of which should preserve to them and to remote posterity, the history of American Slavery and of the Great Rebellion upon which it was based. As for some unexplained reason our newspaper files from 1830 to 1840 are not what they should be, so the same may be said of the war period from 1861 to 1865. Our alcove of rebellion and slavery literature is almost wholly indebted to exchanges and gifts for its present flourishing condition. Is it not possible

that among our American members there is some one who is to endow it so handsomely that his name shall be placed over it in letters of gold? May the name and the means soon be ours to acknowledge!

The importance of our collection of public documents has been well tested during the past few months by George S. Taft, Esq., in his preparation of a Digest of Senate Contested Election Cases, under the direction of Senator Hoar. Some of the smaller gaps which have been brought to light have been promptly filled through Senator Hoar and Congressman Rice. It is high time that a regular and wise system for the distribution of such government material was adopted, and then faithfully and patiently carried out. When that is done, not only the recent call of the United States Department of the Interior for duplicate Congressional Globes and Records will everywhere be honored, but a further call which should be made for all extra copies of all United States public documents, to be distributed to needy libraries—first filling the small gaps in some of the larger ones—would also be answered. Little is hazarded in saying that our own duplicate room would afford rare material which could not easily be found, either in the libraries of Washington or elsewhere. We have sent, by way of exchange, to the Maine Historical Society all our duplicate Maine newspapers; to the Town Library of Lancaster, Mass., the remainder of our Lancaster Gazettes, and to the Boston Athenæum all surplus copies of their publications. It was a pleasure to be credited by the librarian of the Athenæum with sending one of their exhibition catalogues which had disappeared from their collections. Having undertaken, at the request of the editor, the care of an interleaved copy of the Harvard Quinquennial Catalogue of 1885, we shall be most happy to receive and carefully enter additions, corrections and suggestions, especially from the graduates of Harvard.

The appearance of the Index to the last volume of

the Society's Proceedings again reminds us of the great amount of time and patience which might be saved, if writers would give the full names of persons cited as authorities.

It should be noted as a matter of record, that among the minor improvements which, in the interest of security and comfort, our Library Committee has provided since the last meeting, are an iron gate of graceful proportions for the protection of the Highland Street entrance to the Hall, and a cement floor for the boiler and coal room.

Before giving the usual statistical summary, it may be well to say that if at any time a donor fails to receive a prompt acknowledgment of his mailed gift, it is generally safe to infer, either that it has gone astray or that both the donor's name and the government post-mark—the latter required by law—are wanting, leaving us entirely ignorant as to the name and address of the person to whom we are indebted. We are always glad to preserve the auto-graph wrapper address with the gift, but prefer a presentation entry upon the fly-leaf or title-page.

The record of donations furnishes the following as to the growth of the library since the last report. By gifts nine hundred and fifty-nine books, four thousand and twelve pamphlets; two bound and one hundred and thirty-two unbound volumes of newspapers, one hundred photographs, seventeen engravings, fifteen manuscripts, one broadside pedigree, and a fragment of the stockade of Andersonville prison; and by exchange thirty-six books and one hundred and forty-six pamphlets, making a total of nine hundred and ninety-five books, forty-one hundred and fifty-eight pamphlets, one hundred and thirty-four files of newspapers, etc. Of the two hundred and fourteen donors, fifty are members, eighty-five friends who are not members, and seventy-nine public institutions.

One of the latest, and by far the most valuable acquisition is that from the Hon. James Carson Brevoort, LL.D.,

for nearly twenty years a valued member of this society. In his letter of presentation, he says, "I send you as a gift a number of the early books on Japan, which I have been collecting for more than twenty-five years, thinking that your library is the fittest depository for the nucleus of such a collection." Instead of calling your especial attention to the rarest of these rare books, it has been thought best to leave them all upon the table for your inspection and to make but a brief general reference to them in this report. Beginning with the Venetian titles of 1558, and ending with those of Paris in 1859, we find one hundred and three books printed on thirty-five of the leading presses of the world,—including the Cramoisy and the Elzevir—in six different languages; namely, English, French, German, Italian, Latin and Spanish. Of these issues of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there are represented forty-three, forty-three, ten and seven titles, respectively. Two copies of Pagés's *Bibliographie Japonaise, ou, ouvrages relatifs au Japon qui ont été publiés depuis le Cinquième Siècle jusqu'a nos jours*, 4to, Paris, 1859, containing Mr. Brevoort's valuable notes, accompany and make a part of this most important donation. We may well be even more grateful for his noble and timely example than for the gift itself.

The first purchase for the Haven Alcove is the Rev. Dr. Baird's long-expected History of the Huguenot Emigration to America, and the second includes Peter Martyr's "Decades of the Newe Worlde," a black-letter of London, 1555, bound by Aitkin, and Eden's "History of Trauayle," black-letter, London, 1557, bound by Pratt, they being practically two editions of the same work. In addition to six volumes received at the charge of the Haven Fund, we acknowledge nine from the Chandler, fourteen from the Davis, and four from the Thomas Fund. The gifts of President Hoar and Vice-President Salisbury are, as usual, large and important. Professor Dexter has earned the

gratitude of all American scholars, and more especially of the alumni of his *alma mater*, by the publication of his Yale Biographies and Annals, 1701-1745. The bibliographical notes, and above all, the list of authorities at the close of each sketch, will make it a book of reference to the brotherhood of librarians, of whom Mr. Dexter is an honored member. For this, as well as for his paper upon the History of Connecticut as Illustrated by the Names of her Towns, which, like Dr. Trumbull's Indian Names in Connecticut, will help the busy librarian to answer many questions, we desire to make due acknowledgment. Judge Aldrich's gift of his volume of Equity Pleadings and Practice in the Courts of Massachusetts, and of his Tribute to Chief Justice Shaw, again suggests the statement, that whatever may be the subject treated, the works of our members are always welcome. Professor McMaster has promptly sent us the second volume of his History of the American People, delayed for a year by the loss of his manuscript; and Dr. Guild has sent his Diary of Chaplain Smith, the title-page of which does not at all prepare one for the mine of Revolutionary War material within. Mr. J. Fletcher Williams has generously offered to transfer from his own library to ours any needed material relating to his own State — Minnesota — or the State of Michigan, his not far-away neighbor. The Rev. George S. Paine is making additions to an interesting collection of colored theatrical handbills, portraits, etc., begun by his father. He has also presented a framed photograph of his grandfather, William Paine, M.D., one of the founders and the first Vice-President of this Society, who was born in Worcester June 5, 1750, and died there April 19, 1833.

From Bishop Wm. Stevens Perry, Historiographer of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, we have received his History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587-1883, in the preparation of which we were able to render some assistance. As is not infrequently the

case, during such examinations, an occasional broadside or pamphlet of great rarity was brought to light. The late Dr. Charles O. Thompson, before leaving Worcester for his new home in Terre Haute, Indiana, gave us much material, especially such as relates to technical education. That his interest in this Society still continued will appear from the following articles in a codicil to his will, bearing date, April 24, 1883 :

“ *Second.* All catalogues of institutions and all books and pamphlets bearing upon the history of education, I give and bequeath to the American Antiquarian Society, having its seat in the City of Worcester and State of Massachusetts ; my wife, Maria G., to decide what books, pamphlets, &c., given by this item, shall go to said Society, after consultation with Edmund M. Barton, Librarian of the same.

“ *Fourth.* If my estate shall exceed the sum of Fifty Thousand Dollars at the time of my decease, then and in that case I give and bequeath to said Antiquarian Society the sum of One Thousand Dollars to found and furnish in the library of said Society an Alcove of Education, the income of said sum to be expended in the purchase of books and pamphlets bearing on the history of education, and the principal sum to be kept unimpaired.”

The large collection of books and pamphlets devised, has been received, after consultation with Mrs. Thompson. That the provisions of article four cannot be carried out is a great disappointment to the widow, sons and daughter of our late associate.

The following pungent paragraph, written the past month by Hon. Edward J. Phelps, may serve to emphasize Minister Everett’s remark quoted in your Librarian’s last report. It is suggested by the receipt of an extended and expensive report upon the estate of Sir Andrew Chadwick, with his life, illustrated with plans, views, coat of arms, etc., presented by the “ Chartered Accountant ” in charge of the supposed property interests of the Chadwicks of England and America. As a doctor learned in the law,

now our representative at the Court of St. James, Mr. Phelps may well be supposed to speak with authority, when he says "The pretended prosecution of the pretended American claims to English property is carried on with such persistence and ingenuity, by the men engrossed in it, that I despair of being able to make their credulous victims understand what an utter impotence and delusion the whole business is." If said words are unheeded, Americans need not be surprised if their warnings go for naught.

Mr. J. L. & P. Goddard has brought us a bound copy of the new Goddard Catalogue of 1866, to which he has added some manuscript notes and a prospectus for a new volume. It contains an extract of a diary received from Dr. John C. H. Smith, of Mr. Parry Goddard, of Worcester, and copied in Dr. H. A. Hazen's biography.⁷ Mr. J. L. & P. Goddard has kindly given us the handwritten copy of the first Part of his Catalogue of Framingham, and we are very grateful to him. There is, in this Part, a list of the names of the towns in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, with the number of the results of the search made in each town, and also a list of the towns in which no results were obtained. In that early part of the Catalogue there is a note acknowledging the services of Mr. Wm. C. Brewster, of Boston, attorney from Boston, who has been engaged in the preparation of the Catalogue. In the letter of Mr. Brewster to Mr. Goddard, dated April 1, 1866, he says: "I shall be glad to receive your Catalogue when you send it to me." This letter shows the name of Mr. Brewster, and also his address, and it would be well to have it copied in the Catalogue. Mrs. Brewster, the widow of Mr. Brewster, is now living in New York. She is the mother of the wife of Mr. J. L. & P. Goddard, and of the brothers

entered the army, two of whom died in the service. The other two served through the war and drew pensions in their old age. My parents, Frederic and Hannah Bliss, with their three children, went from Rehoboth, Mass., in the winter of 1793 and 1794, to settle in Washington County, Vermont, where ten more children were born to them, of whom I was the youngest, except one, and the last survivor." Mr. S. N. Dexter North sends a separately printed copy of his special report on the newspaper and periodical press, made for the tenth United States Census. Appendix D gives a "List of the Bound Files of the American Newspapers in the Possession of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.," furnished by us. It is all the more conspicuous since it stands alone, where a complete catalogue of the other important newspaper collections of America should appear. An early and persistent effort to obtain extra copies of this list for the use of scholars has thus far been unsuccessful. Mr. James C. Pilling has supplied us with one of the hundred copies of the proof-sheets of his Bibliography of American Linguistics, of eleven hundred and thirty-five large quarto pages. We are indebted to John T. Hassam, Esq., for Part I. of the reprint of the Genealogical Gleanings in England by Mr. Henry F. Waters. While this Society in its corporate capacity has not subscribed to the fund for carrying on these researches, it should be said that the individual interest is manifest in the fact that its President, Vice-Presidents and a score of members are contributors to it. We are indebted to Professor George L. Vose, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for an effort to collect for us all printed matter bearing in any manner upon that important institution; and to Messrs. Drew, Allis and Company for a gift, thrice repeated within a few years, of a quantity of their Rochester, N. Y., Directories. The United States War Department sends the sixth volume of Dr. Billings's Index-Catalogue of the Library of

the United States Surgeon-General's Office, a work which already has a world-wide reputation. In acknowledging numbers of the New Series of the Iowa Historical Society's Record we note for the information of our North-Western correspondents, the fact that we lack of the First Series, known as the Annals of Iowa, those of January, July and October, 1873, and January, 1874. The receipt of the beginning of a New Series of the Bulletin of the California Academy of Sciences, also suggests that we want of the First Series, volume one and all after volume seven, part one, with title-pages for volumes three and five. The Maine, Maryland and New Jersey Historical Societies and the State of New Hampshire send evidence of a continuation of the good work of the preservation of history. Our wide-spread membership should encourage such undertakings in their States as a means of saving valuable historical material. The consideration of such gifts and givers encourages us to believe that a Society of the character, breadth and usefulness of our own, has not only a past and a present, but a future.

In the valuable brochure upon Public Libraries and Schools, received at the hands of its author, Mr. Samuel S. Green, the following brief but pertinent description of a good librarian is especially noteworthy. He says: "The things he really needs are interest in the work, knowledge of books, a good education, good manners and good sense." The second qualification named, that of a knowledge of books, impressed itself forcibly upon my mind while recently preparing, for the seventh general meeting of the American Library Association, a paper on the best use of duplicates. This knowledge must necessarily be both internal and external, and for the latter a careful study of the broad field of catalogues of all classes, languages and times may be found useful. Certainly the light and shade thrown by to-day's comparison of a New York or Leipsic Catalogue with a Quaritch or Trübner of London, or a

Dufossé or a Champion of Paris, would furnish food for reflection. While Willard's Body of Divinity, a folio which only a divinity school library with plenty of shelf-room would greatly desire, and of which we have several extra copies, is priced at ten pounds ten shillings; and the first edition of our founder's History of Printing at six pounds six; the first two volumes of our Archæologia Americana, which we sell for nearly four pounds, are called home for one pound ten. It is thought that in this connection, two early Harvard College book-sale catalogues which have lately been examined, and which remind one by their rarity of the Harvard broadside triennial catalogues, will be found to contain suggestions of interest. The latest of these, "A Catalogue of Duplicates in the Library of Harvard College for sale," a duplicate copy of which has, by special request, been sent to the Astor Library, bears no date, but was presented by our first President in 1825, probably soon after it was printed. Upon its title-page Dr. Thomas has written, as was his custom, "Value 10 cts." and throughout the list appear his single, double and triple checks of preference. Early English folios and quartos seem to have commanded the highest prices, as witness the following: "Baxter Rd. Christian Directory, or Summary of Practical Theologie and Cases of Conscience, fol., London, 1673, \$3.50." "Doddridge Philip. Family Expositor, or a Paraphrase and Version of the New Testament, &c., 6 vols., 4to. London, 1760." \$3.50 each. "Justinus Martyr. Apologiae duae et Dialogus Cum Triphone Judaeo, Cum Notis et emendationibus Styani Thirlbii, fol. Londini, 1722." \$8.00. "Josephus Flavius. Works Translated by Whiston, fol., London, 1737." \$10.00. Comparison of the above with the low figures attached to the following samples, many of which are rare New England imprints, will astonish buyers of early Americana, and lead us to hope that President Thomas's purchases were as numerous as

his checks would seem to indicate: "Mather Cotton. Christian Philosopher. A Collection of the Best Discoveries in Nature, with Religious Improvements. 8vo. London, 1721." \$1.00. "Mayhew Experience. Indian Converts, or Some Account of the Lives and Dying Speeches of a Considerable Number of the Christianized Indians of Martha's Vineyard. 8vo. London, 1727." \$1.00. "Protestant Religion Maintained &c., against one George Heath [Keith]. 12mo. Boston, 1690 (5 copies)." 25 cents. "Results of Three Synods of the Churches of Massachusetts. 12mo. Boston, 1725." 25 cents. "Scripture Bishop Vindicated. By Eleutherius. Also Eusebius Inermatus. By Phileleuth. Bangor. 12mo. Boston, 1733 (3 copies)." 50 cents. "Alden Timothy. Collection of American Epitaphs with occasional notes, 5 vols. 18mo. N. Y., 1814." 50 cents each. "Eliot John. Up-Biblum God (Indian Bible). 4to. Cambridge, 1663." \$24.00. "Joutel. Journal du dernier Voyage que feu M. de la Sale fit dans le Golfe de Mexique pour trouver l'Embouchure et le Cours de la Rivière de Missicipi. 12mo. Paris, 1713." \$1.00. "Lopez de Gomara. Historia de Mexico. 18mo. Anvers, 1554." \$3.50. "Winthrop, John. Journal of the Transactions and Occurrences in the Settlement of Massachusetts from 1630 to 1644. 8vo. Hartford, 1790." \$2.50. "Mather Sam. Life of Cotton. 12mo. Boston, 1729." 50 cents. If your patience is not exhausted by this bibliographical tour, let us look back one step farther, but still within our nineteenth century, at another and even rarer Harvard Catalogue, presented by Rev. Dr. William Bentley, a duplicate of which, priced from our own copy, we recently placed in Harvard College Library where strangely enough it had escaped preservation. The title is "Catalogue of Books to be sold by Public Auction at Francis Amory's Auction Room, Boston, immediately after the sale advertised to commence December 20, 1813. The following books being

surplus copies of Works from the Library of Harvard University." Some of the more startling prices obtained are added to a few titles in the order in which they appear. "Cartesii Principia Philosophiae. 4to. 1672, *Elzevir Edition.*" 60 cents. "The Bible in the Indian Language. Eliot's Translation." \$1.10. "Sir Walter Raleigh's Historie of the World. fol. 1614." \$1.80. "The Bishops Bible, fol., Black-Letter, wants the title-page and some leaves at the end." \$1.70. "The Protestant religion maintained and the churches of New England defended against the calumnies of one George Keith, a Quaker. By the Ministry of Boston. 24mo. 1690." 15 cents. It will be remembered that five copies of this defence against Keith were offered in the catalogue of ten years later for the sum of twenty-five cents each. "New England's Duty and Interest; an election sermon May 25, 1698. By Nich. Noyes, Minister of Salem." 15 cents. "Dissenting Gentleman's Letters to Mr. White. 12mo. Boston, 1768." 20 cents. "Second Volume of Hakluyt's Voyages. fol. Black-Letter." \$1.00. "Cluverii Introductio in Universam Geographiam. 12mo. 1651, printed by Elzevir." 10 cents. The present worth of these books I need not state in this presence. By the following extract from his will, we are reminded of the narrow escape of these catalogues containing Dr. Bentley's notes. His bequest to this Society of "all my German books, New England printed books, manuscripts not of my own hand and cabinet with all it contains and all my paintings and engravings," was followed by a recommendation "to my nephew to destroy all the writings of every name in my own hand and to accept what remains for his services, and I constitute W. B. Fowle Sole Executor." We may well be grateful to the sole executor, a worthy member of this Society until his death in 1865, who not only failed to carry out his uncle's recommendations, but bequeathed to us what he had retained of this singularly valuable collection.

It would be interesting to know what prices were attached to that first English catalogue, printed in 1595, by John Wendel for Andrew Maunsell of London. In his quaint dedication he says "I have thought good in my poor estate to undertake this most tiresome busesse, hoping the Lord will send a blessing upon my labours taken in my vocation : thinking it as necessarie for the bookseller (considering the number and value of them) to have a catalogue of our English booke, as the Apothecarie his dispensatorium or the Schoolmaster his dictionary."

In closing, two paragraphs are quoted from the pen of Hon. John Davis in his report for the Council April 30, 1851, as they may indicate, to a certain extent, the steady but, possibly, too quiet and contented spirit which pervades our beloved Society to-day. Governor Davis said: "Its affairs have at all times been quietly, nay, almost silently conducted. No temporary expedients, no artificial stimulants have been employed to give it a factitious importance.

* * * * *

Nor has prosperity been sought through any means except that voluntary support which is yielded from a conviction that we are engaged in a meritorious work deserving encouragement."

Respectfully submitted,

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Donors and Donations.**FROM MEMBERS.**

- ALDRICH, Hon. P. EMORY**, Worcester.—His “Equity Pleadings and Practice in the Courts of Massachusetts”; and his “Sketch of the Professional and Judicial Character of Chief Justice Shaw.”
- BARTON, Mr. EDMUND M.**, Worcester.—Ten pamphlets; and one hundred photographs.
- BELL, Hon. CHARLES H.**, Exeter, N. H.—His Memorial of John Taylor Gilman, M.D.
- BREVOORT, Hon. JAMES CARSON**, Brooklyn, N. Y.—One hundred and three volumes, of great rarity and value, relating to Japan.
- BRINTON, DANIEL G., M.D.**, Philadelphia, Pa.—Four of his pamphlets relating to the American languages.
- BROCK, ROBERT A., Esq.**, Richmond, Va.—His “Early Iron Manufacture in Virginia, 1619-1776.”
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Moraine Mews
VOL. IV.

NEW SERIES.

PART 2.

PROCEEDINGS

✓
OF THE

American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN BOSTON,

APRIL 28, 1886.



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PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 28, 1886, AT THE HALL OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON.

THE following members were present (the names being arranged in order of seniority of membership): Edward E. Hale, Andrew P. Peabody, Nathaniel Paine, Joseph Sargent, Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Francis Parkman, George S. Paine, Edward L. Davis, James F. Hunnewell, John D. Washburn, Thomas W. Higginson, Albert H. Hoyt, Charles C. Smith, Hamilton B. Staples, Edmund M. Barton, Lucius R. Paige, John J. Bell, Joseph B. Walker, Samuel S. Green, Edward I. Thomas, Frederick W. Putnam, Solomon Lincoln, J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden, Reuben Colton, Robert N. Toppan, Henry H. Edes, Grindall Reynolds.

The second Vice-President, STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., was in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the records of the last meeting which were approved.

The same officer communicated the recommendation of the Council that the gentlemen named below be elected to membership in the Society, each of whom was chosen by a separate ballot on his name:—

FREDERICK JOHN KINGSBURY, A.M., of Waterbury, Conn.

GEORGE EBENEZER FRANCIS, M.D., of Worcester, Mass.

SAMUEL S. GREEN, A.M., read a report which had been prepared by him and adopted by the Council as a part of their report to the Society.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Treasurer, and EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq., Librarian, read their semi-annual reports. These reports, as together constituting the report of the Council, were on motion of FRANCIS PARKMAN, LL.D., seconded by Rev. ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

Rev. Dr. PEABODY and Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., made a few remarks suggested by certain portions of Mr. GREEN's report.

Mr. FREDERICK W. PUTNAM exhibited a collection of celts, axes and ornaments made of various stones known under the general term of jade. Some of these were from the ancient pile-dwellings of the Swiss lakes; one large celt was from New Zealand: another, with a cutting edge at each end, from a mound in Michigan, and twelve other specimens were from Nicaragua and Costa Rica. The latter consisted of a large four-sided celt; a half of a celt of a peculiar light color for jadeite; while all the others, ten in number, were ornaments made by cutting celts into halves, quarters or thirds. A portion of the cutting edge of the celt remains on each of these pieces. Each piece is perforated by one or two drilled holes, and three are more or less elaborately carved. Two of the specimens fit together to make half a celt, which had been perforated in the centre of the upper end. When this half-celt was again cut a portion of the original perforation was left on each piece.

The questions proposed were: Where did these specimens come from? Why were such important implements as axes and chisels first made of this hard material and afterwards cut up for ornaments?

In answer, he stated that up to this time, jadeite, varying from almost a milk-white color with a slight shade of green to that of a beautiful emerald-green had not been found *in situ* in America. So far as known, all such varieties of jadeite had come from Asia. Had this material been

obtained from any locality within immediate reach of the ancient people of Central America (from whose burial mounds these specimens had been taken, principally by Dr. Earl Flint while exploring for the Peabody Museum), it would not have been considered so valuable; and these people would not have spent so much time and labor in cutting up these useful and highly polished implements if they could have obtained the stone in the rough. Such labor, it seemed to him, was evidence of the scarcity of the stone, and of the regard in which it was held, probably as a stone no longer to be obtained. Is it not, therefore, reasonable to believe that the stone was brought from Asia in the form of implements by the early migrants to this country, and that as the supply was not kept up, and most likely even its source became unknown, the pieces among the people were cut and re-cut and preserved as sacred relics of the past, to be, one after the other, finally buried with their owners?

Is it not one of the most important facts yet known tending to show that the original possessors of the implements brought them from Asia, and that at least one portion of America was settled by people from that continent?

On motion of the Rev. LUCIUS R. PAIGE, D.D., the thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. PUTNAM, and he was requested to furnish his remarks to the Committee of Publication.

In reply Mr. PUTNAM stated that he was still at work on the subject in all its bearings, and that it would be some time yet before he would be ready to publish all the evidence he had to offer, showing that these specimens indicate a migration from Asia. Much remained to be done in comparing the specimens from Central America with specimens of jadeite from known localities in Asia, and for this purpose microscopical sections and chemical analyses were yet to be made. In due time he hoped to offer a paper in complete form. At present, he brought the subject forward

for such discussion as its great importance seemed to merit.¹

Mr. SALISBURY, from the chair, in accordance with the general desire of the members present, gave a brief exten-

¹ Since the above was put in type I have obtained the following important information substantiating the conclusions expressed above.—F. W. P.

Mr. Oliver W. Huntington, Instructor in Mineralogy in Harvard University, has been so kind as to make a careful examination of three of the Central American specimens, varying greatly in color, about which he makes the following report:—

"CHEMICAL LABORATORY OF HARVARD COLLEGE.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., May 31, 1886.

MY DEAR MR. PUTNAM:

The three specimens which you left with me are unquestionably Chinese Jade, having all the characters of that mineral, although the largest specimen from Costa Rica is rather unusual in its color and would not be taken for jadeite at sight.

The result of my examination is as follows:—

No. 33395. Costa Rica specimen. H.=7. Sp. gr. taken on a mass weighing 166 grammes is 3.281. A small fragment before the blowpipe fused readily below 3 to a glassy bead.

No. 33391. The specimen from Costa Rica, cut in form of a bird. H. a little under 7. Sp. gr. taken on a specimen weighing 54 grammes is 3.341. Before the blowpipe it fused quietly below 3 to a transparent glass, not acted on by acid.

No. 32794. Smallest specimen from Costa Rica. H. a little under 7. Sp. gr. taken on a specimen weighing 13 grammes is 3.326. Before the blowpipe it fused quietly below 3 to a transparent glass, not acted on by acid.

I have given above the approximate weights, to show that the specimens were large enough for an accurate determination of the specific gravity.

Very sincerely yours.

OLIVER W. HUNTINGTON."

Dr. Willis E. Everette, who has recently returned from an extended trip in Alaska, wrote me that he had obtained from the natives of the interior a number of ornaments and crude pieces of jade. In reply to my request he has been so kind as to send me the only specimen he had with him at the East. This piece has the appearance of a water-worn pebble, five inches long and an inch thick in its central portion, from which a piece has been removed by some primitive method (probably by sawing with a cord and sand), in the same manner as the specimens from Central America and hard stones from various other regions were cut. It is of a deep green color, very much like a large nephrite celt from New Zealand, now in the Peabody Museum. Dr. Everette writes that "this specimen was given me by an Eskimo from the Kúwuk river, north of the Arctic circle, and which flows into Kotzebue Sound." (I suppose this to be the same as the Kowak river.)

This is probably the "jade" which has been reported as occurring *in situ* in Alaska. To the eye it has the general appearance of jadeite and nephrite, but the following report from Mr. Huntington, to whom, and to Prof. Cooke, I at

poraneous account of a recent visit he had made to Mexico and more especially to the province of Yucatan, with comparisons of the present civilization with that of a period twenty-five years ago, when he had visited the same region. His remarks were listened to with great interest, and found favor with all who heard them.

After the formal adjournment the members were entertained at dinner by their associate, Hon. EDWARD ISAIAH THOMAS. At the table Col. THOMAS W. HIGGINSON, who had been prevented from attending the morning session, read a paper, which, on motion of the Recording Secretary, was received, with thanks, as of the regular order of the meeting, and referred to the Committee of Publication.

It was also voted that a despatch of congratulation be sent to Dr. GEORGE CHANDLER, an honored associate, who was celebrating his eightieth birthday in Worcester.

The meeting was then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,
Recording Secretary.

once submitted the specimen for examination, is conclusive as to its being a different mineral from the Central American specimens.

"CHEMICAL LABORATORY OF HARVARD COLLEGE.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., May 31, 1886.

MY DEAR MR. PUTNAM:

The compact green mineral submitted to my examination appears to be a portion of a worn pebble, and has a fine dark green color, breaking with a splintery fracture, and having a glistening lustre. H.=6. Sp. Gr. carefully taken on a specimen weighing over 100 grammes, at a temperature of 24.1° is 2.9942. A small splinter before the blowpipe fused below 8 with intumescence and spitting, to a transparent blebby glass, and after fusion was insoluble in acid.

The blowpipe characters indicate Jadeite, but the low specific gravity and hardness are inconsistent with this supposition, and it is certainly not the Chinese Jadeite nor like the specimens from Central America which I examined for you.

Very truly yours,

OLIVER W. HUNTINGTON."

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council submits to the Society the statements of the Treasurer and Librarian as portions of its report. It wishes to call attention to the changes which have been introduced by the former officer, under the advice of the Finance Committee of the Council, in keeping the accounts of the Society, and to the fact that a list of the securities in which the principal of the funds is invested will hereafter be printed in the record of our semi-annual Proceedings.

Seven members of the American Antiquarian Society have died since our last meeting, namely: Dr. Ashbel Woodward of Franklin, Connecticut; Dr. Rufus Woodward of Worcester, Massachusetts; Professor Heinrich Fischer of Freiburg, Germany; Honorable Peter Child Bacon of Worcester, Massachusetts; Mr. Henry Stevens of Vermont and London; Professor Edward Tuckerman of Amherst, Massachusetts; and Señor Gumesindo Mendoza of the city of Mexico.

ASHBEL WOODWARD was born June 26, 1804, in Willington, Connecticut. The farm of his father lay principally in Ashford, Connecticut, but the family residence at the time of Ashbel's birth stood across the line of separation from that town, in Willington. He was seventh in descent from Richard Woodward, whose name is on the earliest list of proprietors of Watertown, Massachusetts.

Dr. Woodward graduated from the Medical Department of Bowdoin College in May, 1829, and settled two months later in Franklin, Connecticut, as a physician. Here he continued to reside until his death, December 20, 1885, in

the eighty-second year of his life. Dr. Woodward became a prominent man in his profession, and was also known to have exceptional acquirements as a genealogist, antiquary, and inquirer and writer in the field of local history and biography. He was President of the Connecticut Medical Society for the years 1858 to 1861, and the annual addresses delivered by him while he held this position attracted much attention at the time. From its foundation he was an active and deeply interested member of the American Medical Association, and was an honorary member of several state medical societies. He wrote many papers on subjects which interested him professionally. During the early days of the civil war he was appointed a member of the board organized in Connecticut for the examination of candidates for the position of surgeon in the volunteer regiments of that state. He supported the Union cause with that ardor which characterized him in all his convictions and undertakings, and, although nearly sixty years of age at the time, went to the front in our armies as surgeon of the 26th Connecticut regiment. Here he shared in the siege and capture of Port Hudson. As a physician, writes his son, Mr. P. H. Woodward, "he was noted for quickness and accuracy of perception" and "was especially successful in desperate cases."

Although a very busy practitioner Dr. Woodward found time to do much literary work. Besides his medical writings he prepared books, articles and papers on other subjects. He published in 1878 a small volume on Wampum, a subject to which he had given much attention. This is an interesting monograph, and our associate, Mr. William B. Weeden, has remarked that he found it a useful repository of facts from which to draw in preparing his paper in the Johns Hopkins University Studies on Indian Money as a factor in New England Civilization. Dr. Woodward had an especial fondness for genealogical investigations, and his knowledge of the lineages of old New England families was

extensive and at instant command. He was a frequent contributor to the *Historical and Genealogical Register*. In Allibone's *Dictionary of Authors*, where a list of his writings is given, it is stated that he furnished to that periodical perhaps forty papers. In an editorial note in the *Register*, Dr. Woodward is spoken of as "one of the most thorough and reliable of our New England antiquarians."¹

October 14, 1868, Dr. Woodward delivered the historical address on the occasion of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the Congregational Church of Franklin. This address was afterwards expanded into a "*History of Franklin*." As a member of the committee of arrangements he took an active part in the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the town of Norwich, Connecticut, which took place the 7th and 8th of September, 1859, and for the volume which was issued in commemoration of that event furnished a paper on the early physicians of Norwich. He wrote a memoir of Colonel Thomas Knowlton, who commanded the continental troops stationed behind the rail fence at Bunker Hill, and who was killed at Harlem Heights, September 16, 1776. At the request of the family of the deceased, Dr. Woodward also prepared a biography of General Lyon, who distinguished himself in our civil war. General Lyon was a grand-nephew of Colonel Knowlton. Dr. Woodward was a collector of rare books, pamphlets, coins, Indian relics and autographs, and in accumulating a library made a specialty of town and county histories, and of monographs on important events. In early manhood he became a member of the Congregational Church of Franklin, and always worked earnestly to advance its prosperity. He was a devout and unquestioning believer in the teachings of Christianity, and has been represented as having been in belief, sympathy and character a marked survivor of the

¹ *Historical and Genealogical Register* for April, 1886.

Puritans. During his long service as a physician Dr. Woodward ministered in sickness to at least six successive generations of patients. He left a widow and two sons. This notice has been prepared from materials furnished by his son, Mr. P. H. Woodward, who has himself written an account of his father for the number of the Historical and Genealogical Register for April, 1886. Dr. Woodward was elected a member of this Society in April, 1864.

RUFUS WOODWARD was born in Wethersfield, Connecticut, October 3, 1819. He was the second son of Dr. Samuel Bayard Woodward, then of that town but afterwards for many years the Superintendent of the Asylum for the Insane in Worcester, Massachusetts, and grandson of Dr. Samuel W. Woodward of Torringford, Connecticut, who is said to have been an eminent physician. Mr. Henry B. Stanton in a work recently printed, entitled "Random Recollections," speaks as follows of the father of Rufus Woodward :

"I boarded for some months in Boston at the United States Hotel. Whenever he visited the city, Dr. Samuel B. Woodward, principal of the Insane Asylum, Worcester, dined at that hotel. As he walked erect and majestic through the long room to the head of the table, every knife and fork rested, and all eyes centered on him. He received similar notice when appearing as an expert witness in the courts. The reason was this: young men who saw George Washington after he passed middle life traced the very close resemblance between him and Dr. Woodward. Aware of the cause the doctor was flattered by these attentions."

When about eleven years of age Rufus Woodward went to Boston and entered a store kept by an uncle. Soon, however, he removed to Worcester where he attended school and prepared himself to enter college. He graduated at Harvard College in 1841, and among his classmates were Francis Minot, Dr. Edward Hammond Clark, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson. He studied medicine in the office

of our associate, Dr. Joseph Sargent, and at the Harvard Medical School, and received the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1845. Dr. Woodward was a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society. For several years he acted as an assistant to his father in the Asylum for the Insane. He spent two years in Europe in professional study and returned to Worcester in 1850. From the month of June in that year he was a practising physician in that place until his death, from heart disease, December 30, 1885. Dr. Woodward was City Physician from 1863 to 1866, inclusive, and from 1879 to the day of his death. During the latter term of office he was *ex-officio* a member of the Board of Health, serving as its clerk in 1879, and as its chairman from 1881 until he died. He was a member of the School Committee from 1869 to 1872 and from 1875 to 1883. He married in 1855 a daughter of the late William B. Fox, and leaves three sons and one daughter. He was elected a member of this Society October 21, 1865. Dr. Woodward was chairman of the Department of Natural History in the Young Men's Library Association in 1855-6. The names of the officers of the Library Association at that time have a familiar aspect to members of the Antiquarian Society. Its President was George F. Hoar; one of its Vice-Presidents, William Cross; its Recording Secretary, Nathaniel Paine; and on the Board of Directors were F. H. Dewey, T. W. Higginson and W. A. Smith. E. B. Stoddard acted as a Trustee, and a gentleman then known as Reverend T. W. Higginson as Curator of Entomology. It should be added that the Department of Natural History in the Young Men's Library Association was a particular pet of Rev. Edward Everett Hale. As a physician Dr. Woodward held an honorable rank among medical practitioners in Worcester.

The following tribute to his memory is from the pen of Dr. Joseph Sargent, and is a record of remarks made by

him at a meeting of the Medical Improvement Society held in Worcester, January 2, 1886 :—

“I had known Rufus Woodward longer than any one here present, and I presume that I knew him better. And now that he is gone I do not propose before this assembly of physicians to speak of him as a physician. Many of you can judge him in this capacity as well as I. It is of him as a friend and a man that I would speak. In friendship he was fast and constant. True himself, he was full of trust. My relations with him were too intimate and too tender for me to develop them here. In more than forty years of intimacy I never doubted him and never found him wanting. And as a man he was without guile. Of high principle and refined taste, and good culture, and manly dignity, he was superior to all the petty jealousies which so often poison the medical profession. I do not recollect ever having heard him speak an unkind word of any physician. And he judged all men charitably, rarely speaking of persons, but only of things. He had a love for his profession which was a part of his love of natural history, in which his proficiency was even distinguished. His life was a happy one, for he studied constantly to add to the happiness of others. And it was happy especially because he was so happy in his home. There was never a tenderer and more devoted husband; and he took a fond interest in all that interested his children, enjoying their young life with them, and sharing in their amusements, in their studies and in their occupation. He was no slave to money and courted no applause. When we look back through his life, which was so pure, so earnest and so unselfish, we do not see the plodding and care-worn physician, but the good man, genial and lustrous in his golden atmosphere of good deeds and good cheer, and happy surroundings. If length of life is to be measured by the sum of happiness his life was long; and the lesson to us all is a good one.”

I invite your attention to the following pleasant letter from our associate, Colonel Higginson, Dr. Woodward's classmate in college, who by request has given in it

reminiscences of his friend and particularly such as relate to their college life :—

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., Jan. 28, 1886.

DEAR MR. GREEN :

Thank you for the opportunity of paying some tribute to the memory of my classmate, Dr. Rufus Woodward. Our acquaintance was for many years frank and cordial, though never especially intimate, and I have many pleasant associations with him.

His was the very first figure that met my eyes when I stood waiting on the steps of University Hall, with my future Harvard classmates, waiting for the doors of the examination-room to be opened. We were looking at each other with speculative interest, as possible friends or rivals, and my eye fell especially on him. He was then a vigorous, active boy of fifteen or sixteen, tall and lithe, and with an air of rustic out-door activity, which he soon vindicated. He became our leader at foot-ball, and as we had the unusual glory of vanquishing the Sophomores in one of the trial games that were then practised, he was at once a class favorite, and had the honor of figuring as "Ajax" in a burlesque poem on that event in the *Harvardiana* of that day. Alas, it was his chief college laurel.

He was one of the sort of young men for whom the college now provides opportunities and honors, but who were then practically excluded from both. All his tastes were for observation and natural science; he would have plunged eagerly into an "elective" on any subject in that direction, as he did into the work of our Natural History Society, and afterwards into a volunteer class in entomology with Dr. Harris. He was envied among the youthful Cambridge botanists as the only person who had found the *Corallorrhiza verna* within the limits of Cambridge or even near Boston. There was no doubt of the specimen, and the locality was on Observatory Hill, not far from where my own house now stands; but neither Woodward himself nor anybody else could ever find it again. He belonged also to the Davy Club, a chemical association; and to the Hasty Pudding Club, then in its youth. Of this last he was, I think, librarian, having thus the privilege of

a Holworthy room to himself ; he had previously been the room-mate of another Worcester boy, Benjamin Heywood.
* * * * * He took no college rank, but if his lot had fallen on these days, he might have taken highest honors in two or three scientific courses.

That he should study medicine was a foregone conclusion ; and it was to me a curious coincidence that he and I should be brought together again, after I came to live in Worcester, by being joint founders of a Natural History Society. Of this—which was, it must be remembered, a sort of off-shoot of the American Antiquarian Society—he was one of the first Presidents, perhaps the first, and at any rate a constant friend. Without having what would now be thought profound attainments in any department of Natural History, he had that eager, alert, out-door activity which is more stimulative than any mere knowledge ; and I can remember that on the one or two occasions when he prepared systematic lectures for the society, I was so much impressed with his power of clear statement as to feel regret that he was not occupying a professor's chair. He always met his classmates with the same joyous face ; was always full of college associations and memories, and had more class-feeling than perhaps anybody else among us. There would hardly seem any use in having a class-meeting without Woodward ; in him seemed to live immortal the spirit of our youth.

Very truly yours,

THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

It cannot fail to be noticed that the cheery spirit which Colonel Higginson says belonged to Dr. Woodward when in college clung to him throughout his whole life. It was always pleasant to meet him at the semi-annual gatherings of the members of this Society. He was a busy man ordinarily, and so enjoyed a holiday. When we have seen him at our meetings he has seemed like a hard-working school-boy let out of school for a day's vacation ; to have forgotten care and given himself up for a few hours to the full enjoyment of a well earned brief period of leisure.

HEINRICH FISCHER. During the month of February last the Librarian of this Society received the following printed letter :—

“ P. P.

Gestern Abend 7 Uhr verschied nach langem schwerem Leiden unser geliebter Onkel

Geh. Hofrat Dr. Heinrich Fischer Professor der Mineralogie und Geologie an der Universität in Freiburg im 68. Lebensjahre.

Um stille Theilnahme bittet

Im Namen der trauernden Hinterbliebenen

MAX FISCHER, Kapellmeister.

Freiburg in Baden, den 2. Februar 1886.”

Professor Fischer was born in Freiburg (Baden), December 19, 1817. His studies were pursued at the University in his native place from which he graduated in the department of medicine. He made the study of mineralogy a specialty, and in 1854 was chosen Professor of Mineralogy and Geology in the University of Freiburg, retaining this position until he died. His most important contributions to knowledge were in the line of microscopical mineralogy and in that of the varieties of minerals which may be classed under the names of Jade and Nephrite. In his investigations respecting the composition of those minerals and the place whence implements made from them came, he considered the subject from the points of view both of the mineralogist and the archaeologist. Dr. Fischer's most elaborate and valuable literary production is a work which was published at Stuttgart in 1875. It is a profusely illustrated volume of 407 pages, entitled, *Nephrit und Jadeit*, and treats of the mineralogical qualities of those minerals and of their prehistoric and ethnographic significance.

For an account of many of the opinions of Professor Fischer concerning articles made out of those minerals, reference is made to the very interesting article of our

associate, Dr. Philipp J. J. Valentini, in the number of the Proceedings of this Society for April, 1881, on Two Mexican Chalchihuates, The Humboldt Celt and The Leyden Plate.

It has been stated by Dr. Valentini that Professor Fischer wrote more than one hundred articles on Jade. As members of this Society well know, he held that all celts, etc., made of Nephrite, Jade or Chloromelanite, and that all specimens of the minerals themselves, whether found in Europe or America, came from Asia, and were brought to those parts of the world by peoples migrating to them. This position has been stoutly contested by some European writers who have contended in opposition to Dr. Fischer that there are implements made of those minerals which were not of foreign origin. The theory of Professor Fischer has been passionately impugned and is still warmly contested, it is stated, by Dr. A. B. Mayer, of Dresden, who holds that minerals of the kind spoken of were obtained in the European Alps. Dr. Fischer contributed a valuable paper on The Stone Implements of Asia to the Proceedings of this Society of April, 1884.

The following titles of works of Professor Fischer contributed by him to our library may interest some members of the Society. They have been furnished by Mr. Reuben Colton, our associate and Assistant-Librarian :

Ueber Mexicanische Steinfiguren. Freiburg, 1883.

Nephritfrage und submarginale Durchbohrung von Steingeräthen.

Ueber den Stand der Kentnisse von der Prähistorie Persiens.

Ueber die Nephrit Industrie der Maoris in Neuseeland.

PETER CHILD BACON was born in Dudley, Massachusetts, November 11, 1804. He was the son of Jephthah Bacon of that place and of Joanna (Child) Bacon, who came from Woodstock, Connecticut. Fitted for college at the academy which bears the name of his native town, he graduated

at Brown University in 1827, in the same class with Governor John H. Clifford, Rev. Dr. Elam Smalley (formerly pastor of the Union Church in Worcester, afterwards and until his death Mr. Bacon's place of worship, and father of Mr. George W. Smalley, the European editor of the *New York Tribune*), and Honorable Charles Thurber. Mr. Bacon received the degree of LL.D. from his *alma mater* in the year 1857. He studied law at the New Haven Law School and in the offices of our late associates John Davis and Charles Allen of Worcester, and Ira M. Barton, then a resident of Oxford, and of George A. Tufts of Dudley. Admitted to the bar in Worcester in September, 1830, he began to practice his profession in Dudley, but soon removed to Oxford, in which place he spent twelve years, and then, January 1, 1844, went to Worcester, where he remained in constant practice until the very day that he was stricken with the attack of paralysis, which ended his life four days afterwards, February 7, 1886. Thus Mr. Bacon had fifty-six years of active, continuous practice in the courts of the county of Worcester and State of Massachusetts. He seemed to have but small liking for public or official life, yet filled a few positions that were offered to him. He was one of the pioneers of the Free-Soil Party, which was formed after the nomination by the Whigs of General Zachary Taylor for the office of President of the United States, and accepted a nomination from that organization for the place of Representative in the General Court, to which position he was elected for the year 1848. He also served the city of Worcester as its third Mayor in the years 1851 and 1852. He was Register of Bankruptcy for the Worcester Congressional District during the whole time that the last National Bankruptcy Law was in existence, namely, from 1867 to 1878; and for six years (1875 to 1881) was a member of the Board of Directors of the Free Public Library in Worcester, acting as the President of the Board for the last three years of his

term of office. Mr. Bacon's partners in the law in Worcester were at different times our late associate Judge Ira M. Barton, our associate William Sumner Barton, our late associate Judge Dwight Foster, our associate Judge P. Emory Aldrich, Colonel W. S. B. Hopkins and Henry Bacon. At the time of his death he was the senior member of the firm Bacon, Hopkins and Bacon. He left a wife, two sons and two daughters. He was chosen a member of this Society October 22, 1860.

Mr. Bacon was a distinguished lawyer, and was devoted to his profession. He was a fond student of the law, and learned in everything pertaining to it. Profoundly versed in the fundamental principles of the common law, and familiar with the works of the older law writers, he was at the same time thoroughly acquainted with the contents of recent decisions, and ever cognizant of changes that were being made in statutory enactments. He was a favorite teacher. A very large number of young men studied law in his office, and the interest which he had in professional study and his kindness of heart never shone more conspicuously than in his intercourse with them. He was lavish of time in imparting to them the fruits of his study and experience, and has always been remembered by them as the most affable and painstaking of instructors and friends. His contemporaries at the bar, also found him ever ready to spend time freely in giving them information taken from his full storehouse of legal knowledge.

Mr. Bacon did not confine his attention to the law. He had the tastes of the general scholar, and was interested in a great variety of subjects. He particularly enjoyed poetry and works treating of mental philosophy and history, and was noticeably drawn towards the solution of philological puzzles and to the consideration of the obscurer psychical phenomena. Mr. Bacon's mind was strong; it was broad, also. He always retained his connection with the Christian denomination which stands as representative of the theologi-

cal views which he embraced early in life, but was at the same time very hospitable in the consideration and reception of new teachings in religious philosophy and Biblical criticism. It was his habit to converse with the writer of this report about such matters ; and he remembers one occasion when that attractive hesitation showed itself which was so marked a characteristic of his mind, and which arose from the fulness of his knowledge and from the mental habit of looking at a subject from all points of view. He used leisure hours for several months in studying the question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, then leaving the consideration of the subject for a time, returned to it again and continued the study. When he had reached conclusions, he was asked what these were, and replied that he thought the evidence showed that the Apostle John did not write the book, "but," said he, "if he did not write it who was there that could have written it?"

Mr. Bacon had a very gracious presence. Everybody that knew him loved him. Naturally he lived during the closing portions of his life in greater retirement than formerly, for, it must be remembered, that he was known by the well earned title of the Nestor of the Worcester County Bar twenty years ago. Those persons who have had the privilege of associating with him in his old age will be ready to say with one of his friends, that the esteem in which he was always held "has greatly deepened as a kindly old age mellowed and brought out harmoniously the traits of a singularly loveable character." Mr. Bacon was an affectionate man. Nobody could have known him during our civil war without being impressed by his patriotism. Three of his sons went to the war; and he watched every movement of our armies with intense interest, and showed in his criticisms and remarks the insight of a wise man inspired by love of country. Dr. Bacon's old pastor, our associate Dr. Cutler, says that he "loved the esteem of his fellow-men, but he loved better to deserve it." He was a

man of the strictest integrity. He was the soul of honor. He was a wise counsellor and a valuable citizen; his life was long, useful and honorable. A passage from the twenty-second letter of Pliny the younger, to which attention has been called by Mr. Bacon's friend, Mr. John A. Dana, justly describes Mr. Bacon, as well as Titus Aristo :—

“Mark the fulness of his knowledge regarding the rights of individuals and of the state. Consider his learning, his readiness in citing instances and his antiquarian lore. There is nothing which anyone would learn that he cannot teach. To me he is a storehouse from which I draw information regarding anything that is abstruse. Note his truthfulness in discourse, the weightiness of his speech, and his pregnant and becoming hesitancy. What subject is there which he is not ready to expound? Yet he often hesitates and is in a doubting state of mind because reasons occur to him which would lead to a variety of conclusions. These he traces with a keen and strong insight from first principles and final causes, sifts thoroughly and weighs carefully. Mark, too, his abstemiousness and the modest style in which he lives. * * He is distinguished by a soul which is always guided by conscientious motives and does nothing for effect, seeking the encomium ‘well done’ in the consciousness of uprightness and not in plaudits of the populace. Finally among the votaries of wisdom he stands easily at the head. He does not frequent the gymnasium nor the porches of the Stoics; * * he engages in public and private affairs and often renders assistance as an advocate although oftener as a counsellor. Yet he is equal to the best of men in purity, piety, justice and fortitude.”¹

HENRY STEVENS was descended from Colonel Thomas Stevens of Devonshire, England, afterwards of London. The youngest son of the latter, Cyprian, January 22, 1671, married, in Lancaster, Massachusetts, Mary, daughter of Major Simon Willard. Before removing to Lancaster he had lived in Chelsea, Massachusetts. Cyprian had a son Joseph, who was one of the early settlers of Rutland,

¹ Letters of Pliny the Younger, Book I., Letter 22.

Massachusetts, and Joseph had a son Phineas, who was taken a prisoner when a boy, in Rutland, by the Indians and carried to Canada. The latter afterwards became an early and prominent inhabitant of No. 4 (now Charlestown), New Hampshire, where he acquired reputation as a military leader. Phineas had a son Enos who was one of the proprietors of Barnet, Vermont. Enos was the father of Henry Stevens, born in Barnet, who was for many years President of the Vermont Historical and Antiquarian Society. Henry Stevens had a son Henry, who is the subject of this notice. He was born at Barnet, Vermont, August 24, 1819. Later in life he used to place after his name the initial letters "G. M. B." (Green Mountain Boy). In 1836 he went to an academy at Lyndon; thence proceeded to another academy and then spent the time between September, 1838, and December, 1839, at Middlebury College. He was a schoolmaster for a time, and for a year a clerk in the Treasury Department at Washington. Then he spent three years (1841-43) at Yale College, where he took the degree of B. A. In 1846 he received the degree of M. A. He entered the law school at Cambridge, September, 1843, and spent a year there. In July, 1845, at the age of 26 years, he had reached London, where he afterwards lived. Soon he became the friend and intimate associate of Sir Anthony Panizzi, Thomas Watts, Winter Jones and Edward Edwards, members of the staff of officers of the British Museum. In 1852 Mr. Stevens was chosen a member of the Society of Antiquaries. He was one of the founders of the Library Association of the United Kingdom, and one of its prominent members. In 1877 he was conspicuous as a member of the committee for arranging for the Caxton Exhibition, and prepared the catalogue of the Bibles shown there. Mr. Stevens died February 28, 1886, at the age of 66 years, at Vermont House, his residence in London. He married an English lady who survives him, as does a son also, his successor in business.

Mr. Stevens was a distinguished bibliographer, and an authority in respect to the early editions of the English Bible, and early voyages and travels, especially those relating to America. While a clerk in Washington he became acquainted with Peter Force, and at that time laid the foundation of the remarkable knowledge which he had respecting American history and the public documents belonging to this country. After leaving the law school at Cambridge he spent some time in exploring the rural districts of New England and the Middle States in quest of rare books and pamphlets. Mr. Stevens had not been a week in London, whither he had gone with the purpose of introducing the bibliographical curiosities of this country to English librarians and book lovers, and to buy scarce and valuable books, before he had become familiarly acquainted with the principal booksellers of that city, and had been made to feel at home in the British Museum. A writer in the *London Times* of March 5, 1886, understood to be Dr. Richard Garnett, late Superintendent of the Reading-room in the British Museum, and still connected with it in another capacity, says that Mr. Panizzi, at that time Keeper of the Printed Books in the same institution, speedily recognized Mr. Stevens's "qualities, and a connection sprang up which proved equally advantageous" to him "and to the Museum. To his unwearied enterprise the institution is indebted for most of its valuable American books, and extending the field of his operations he became a chief agent for purveying rare books of every class as well as English pamphlets, which he systematically collected on a large scale. He further compiled and published a catalogue of all United States publications in the Museum to the end of 1856." A writer in *The Nation* of March 11, 1886, states that Mr. Stevens in 1884 told "an American visitor that he had furnished the Museum Library with 100,000 books or pamphlets." Mr. George Bullen, the present Keeper of Printed Books in the British Museum, in the *Athenæum* of

March 6, 1886, claims that the Museum "now contains a more extensive library of American books than any single library in the United States." In process of time Mr. Stevens became a recognized agent for providing American collectors with the rarer productions of the European press. He rendered services of particular value in this respect to our former Vice-President, the late James Lenox, founder of the Lenox Library, New York, the connection of Mr. Stevens with Mr. Lenox having begun the first year the former lived in London, and having ended only with the death of the latter, in 1880. For his princely patron Mr. Stevens purchased, together with a very large number of other books, at least £20,000 worth of old Bibles. His "Recollections of Mr. James Lenox of New York," just announced for immediate publication, will be looked for with great interest.

Mr. Stevens became the owner of a large collection of manuscripts, books, etc., relating to Benjamin Franklin, which was so much esteemed that the government of the United States has recently paid \$30,000 to secure possession of it. Mr. Stevens was not only, however, a collector and seller of books, he was, also, an interesting writer on bibliographical and other subjects. He has left a number of essays nearly ready for publication, which his fastidious love of accuracy had prevented him from issuing during his lifetime. Among these, writes Dr. Garnett, "are investigations respecting Columbus, a subject in which he took the deepest interest, and a supplement to Mr. Fagan's Life of Panizzi, containing a fund of anecdotes relating to the British Museum. It is to be hoped that these and other productions of scarcely inferior interest may yet see the light." At a convivial meeting of librarians or antiquaries Mr. Stevens was the life and soul of the party. Dr. Garnett says that he "will be painfully missed by all who enjoyed his intimate acquaintance. Esteemed for his knowledge, ability and shrewd common sense, he was even more

beloved for his frank manliness, his kindly nature and rich genial humor." Mr. Stevens was elected a member of this Society April 26, 1854. We have had many dealings through him with the British Museum. It will be remembered that one event which rendered the exhibition of the Caxton publications memorable, was the production of a Bible. Mr. Stevens sent a copy of the edition to our library. It bears the following inscription: "Wholly printed and bound in twelve hours, | On this 30th day of June, 1877, | For the Caxton Celebration. | Only 100 copies were printed, of which this is | No. 11. | Presented to The Hon. Stephen Salisbury | For the American Antiquarian Society | By the Delegates of the Oxford University Press | Through | Henry Stevens, F.S.A. | of Vermont." It was printed from minion type, is 16mo in form and is bound in full morocco. Mr. Stevens was emphatically a lover of books. This is what he says of them: "Books are both our luxuries and our daily bread. They have become to our lives and happiness prime necessities. They are our trusted favorites, our guardians, our confidential advisers, and the safe consumers of our leisure. They cheer us in poverty and comfort us in the misery of affluence. They absorb the effervescence of impetuous youth, and while away the tedium of age." Bibliography sustained a severe loss in the month of February of this year. In that month three men died in England who were distinguished for their knowledge of books, namely, Henry Bradshaw, Edward Edwards and Henry Stevens.

EDWARD TUCKERMAN was born in Boston, December 7, 1817. He was the eldest child of Edward and Sophia (May) Tuckerman. In passing it may be mentioned that Professor Tuckerman was a cousin of our late President, he having been a nephew of Madam Salisbury, the late Mr. Stephen Salisbury's mother, who was a sister of the philanthropist, Rev. Dr. Joseph Tuckerman of Boston. Edward

Tuckerman prepared for college at Ingraham's School and at the Boston Latin School. He entered Union College in the Sophomore class and graduated at that institution in 1837. He entered the Harvard Law School, took there the degree of LL.B. in 1839, and remained in the school until 1841, between the latter dates taking also a special course of study at the Divinity School of Harvard College. He then went abroad where he passed several years in Germany; devoting his time while there principally to the study of history, philosophy and botany. Returning to this country he joined the Senior class of Harvard College, in 1846, having been led to that step by friendship for several of its members, and graduated with the class the following year. Subsequently he received the degree of Master of Arts from both Harvard and Union Colleges, and in 1875 the degree of Doctor of Laws from Amherst College. His taste for the natural sciences early manifested itself, and during his course at Union College he was made curator of the museums at that institution. His connection with Amherst College dates from the year 1854. Several years previous to that date, not yet accounted for, he had spent at Cambridge, in the pursuit of favorite studies. Although a continental reputation was won by Dr. Tuckerman because of his knowledge of botany, he began his career at Amherst College as a lecturer in history, which position he occupied during the years 1854 and 1855, and 1858—1873. He was Professor of Oriental History, 1855 to 1858. In 1858 Dr. Tuckerman was appointed Professor of Botany and remained such until his death, although deafness and other troubles had for several years compelled him to be a recluse and to restrict himself to giving instruction to only a few classes.

He was married May 17, 1854, to Sarah Eliza Sigourney, daughter of Thomas P. Cushing of Boston, but leaves no children. His only surviving brother, Dr. Samuel P. Tuckerman, has resided abroad for the last fifteen years

and has become distinguished for his musical attainments. Henry T. Tuckerman, the essayist, was a cousin of the subject of this notice. Professor Tuckerman was always an accurate and thorough student. He was at the same time a specialist in knowledge and a good general scholar. In early life he was a student of conchology, but was at the same time well versed in botany, law, theology, philosophy and history. It is noticeable, too, that he always kept abreast of the literature of the day in history, theology and travel, as well as in the specialty of lichens his knowledge of which had made him celebrated. The linguistic acquirements of Dr. Tuckerman are worthy of mention. He used rare discrimination, too, in the choice of words. He matured early, his literary work beginning when he was only fifteen years old. Dr. Tuckerman was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society April 25, 1855.

We owe him a debt of gratitude for the admirable work which he did for us in editing for the fourth volume of the *Archæologia Americana*, Josselyn's *New England Rarities*, which he provided with copious notes and a long and valuable introduction. The *Rarities* was afterwards (1865) republished by William Veazie of Boston, from our *Transactions*. Dr. Tuckerman made for the latter edition a revision of his notes and enriched them by a few additions. His principal contributions to knowledge were in the department of botany, and he was early recognized as an authority in the branch of that science which deals with lichens. Specimens of those cryptogamous growths were sent to him from all parts of the world to be determined and named. He was a pioneer in the study of the flora of the White Mountains, and contributed to "The White Hills" of Thomas Starr King two chapters on the "Scientific Explorations and Flora of the Mountains." It will be remembered that a ravine in the White Mountains bears his name. Dr. Tuckerman was a member of many learned societies. He was *Socius Academæ Cœs. Leopoldino-*

Carolinæ Naturæ Curiosorum, a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a corresponding member of the Royal Society of Sciences at Upsala, The Boston Society of Natural History, The Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, and the Royal Botanical Society of Ratisbon and a foreign member of the Botanical Society of Edinburg. He was also a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

A partial list of Dr. Tuckerman's writings may be found in Allibone's Dictionary of Authors. It may be mentioned that in late years he has published the following works not given in that dictionary: *Genera Lichenum: an arrangement of the North American Lichens*, Amherst, 1872. *Catalogue of plants growing without cultivation within thirty miles of Amherst College*, Amherst, 1875. *A synopsis of the North American Lichens*, Part I., Boston, 1882. *Lichenes from the Botany of the United States Exploring expedition under Captain Wilkes*, 1874.

Dr. Tuckerman died at Amherst, Monday, March 15, 1886.

GUMESINDO MENDOZA. Our Vice-President, Mr. Stephen Salisbury, who has just returned home from a visit to Mexico, brings intelligence of the death, in the latter part of January of this year, of Señor Gumesindo Mendoza.

Señor Mendoza was the Director of the National Museum in the city of Mexico. No particulars of his life are now attainable, but some will undoubtedly be soon forthcoming. It would seem likely that a biography of him will appear in the next number of the *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*. When materials come to hand a commemorative notice will be prepared for our Proceedings.

Señor Mendoza was chosen a member of this Society April 27, 1881.

The subject which has been selected for the historical portion of the Report of the Council is the use of the

voluntary system in the maintenance of ministers in the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay during the earlier years of their existence.

Both Pilgrims and Puritans supported their ministers by voluntary contributions for several years after coming to America. They did this, too, largely from principle and not merely because it was convenient to do so. No historian has brought together the statements of early writers and the facts in the history of the two colonies which afford the proof of these two propositions.

In Boston the plan of maintaining ministers by voluntary payments was never given up, and has been in use during the entire period covered by its history.¹ In most other portions of the colony of Massachusetts Bay the system of

¹“The right to levy taxes for the support of the ministry which prevailed in country parishes until quite a recent date was never exercised in the town of Boston.”—History of the First Church in Boston, by Arthur B. Ellis, p. 79, note.

“These early laws were made when King’s Chapel alone represented the Church of England in the province; and as that was in Boston *where from the beginning the ministers were maintained by a voluntary contribution*, no injustice was done to its members by Taxation.”—Annals of King’s Chapel, by H. W. Foote, vol. I., p. 440. See, also, Hutchinson’s History of Massachusetts (1628 to 1750), third edition, 1795, v. I., p. 376, and Winthrop’s History of New England, new edition, vol. I., p. 141.

For accounts of methods in use in Boston in early times for raising money needed in paying the salaries of ministers, see Lechford’s *Plaine Dealing*, p. 18 (Ed. in collections of Mass’tts Hist. Soc., 3d ser., vol. 8, p. 77, Trumbull’s ed., p. 48); Winthrop’s Hist. of New England, vol. I., pp. 144 and 382; An Historical Sketch of the First Church in Boston, by Rev. William Emerson, pp. 160-1; History of Second Church, by C. Robbins, p. 11 (note). Compare, also, The Way of the Churches of Christ in New England, by J. Cotton, London, 1645, p. 60; Josselyn’s Account of Two Voyages to New England, in Colls. of Mass’tts Hist. Soc., 3d ser., vol. 8, p. 331, and Letters from New England, by John Dunton, Ed. of the Prince Society, p. 70. Rev. Dr. E. E. Hale was reported in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of February 18, 1884, as having said in a lecture given at about that date (while speaking of the custom once in vogue in Boston, of using a portion of the money collected at church on Sunday in rendering compensation to ministers), that his own grandfather, a minister in Boston, received payments from this source and had money “paid to him every Sunday, in the proper proportion, from the contents of the contribution box of that day, so that it came to him in the very sixpences, shillings and pistareens which the parishioners had put into the box.” The minister referred to by Dr. Hale,

supporting the clergy in this way was discontinued in a few years. At a somewhat later period it was also given up in the Plymouth Colony. Some of the residents in both colonies refused to aid, of their own accord, in paying the salaries of ministers. After a while the majority of the inhabitants, both in Massachusetts Bay and in Plymouth, concluded to make it obligatory upon all to do so.

Both colonies from the beginning enforced attendance at meeting as persistently as the people of Massachusetts to-day adhere to the policy of compelling children to go to school. Public religious instruction was regarded as necessary to the well being of the community. It was thought, too, that as everybody had the benefit of the teachings of ministers, everybody should help support them, notwithstanding some persons might not consider their instructions beneficial or might object to help pay their salaries on the ground that they did not care for their services. The following passage from Hutchinson's History reproduces the

writes that gentleman, is Rev. Oliver Everett, pastor of the New South Church. Mr. Everett became the settled minister of that church in 1782.

An act of the Province of Massachusetts Bay passed at the session of the General Court begun and held Oct. 12, 1692, provides "that every minister, being a person of good conversation, able, learned and orthodox, that shall be chosen by the major part of the inhabitants in any town, at a town meeting duly warned for that purpose (notice thereof being given to the inhabitants fifteen days before the time for such meeting), shall be the minister of such town; and the whole town shall be obliged to pay towards his settlement and maintenance, each man his several proportion thereof." Boston was not excepted from the operation of this law. But besides the fact that that town had more than one church it had supported its ministers by voluntary contributions, heretofore. At the session begun Feb. 8, 1692-3, "upon further consideration of the said section or paragraph in said act, and the impracticability of the method therein proposed for the choice of a minister in divers towns wherein there are more churches than one, and inconveniences attending the same not so well before seen," it was amended and in its modified form arrangements were made for the choice of ministers by the churches with the concurrence of the major part of the congregation entitled to vote in town affairs and for their settlement and maintenance by taxation, and this provision was added to the law, namely, that nothing therein "contained is intended or shall be construed to extend to abridge the inhabitants of Boston of their accustomed way and practice as to the choice and maintenance of their ministers."

sentiments of most of the residents of both colonies after the earlier method of ministerial support had been set aside in favor of taxation. Writing towards the close of the seventeenth century "the late Governor of Plymouth, Mr. Hinkley, complained of this, as one great grievance, that not being allowed to make rates for the support of the ministry the people would sink into barbarism."¹

In the year 1618, while James the First was King of Great Britain, the learned John Selden (who during the reign of James's successor, Charles the First, was committed to the tower to punish him for the part which he took in supporting the remonstrance of the commons against the levying of duties known as "tonnage and poundage"), was summoned before the High Commission Court to answer charges preferred against him for publishing his History of Tithes. He was accused of denying in that work that tithes are founded in divine right, and although he did not make such a denial in direct terms, it seems probable that he arranged the materials of his history so as to lead to a similar conclusion. He did not deny, however, the legal right of ministers to enjoy tithes. Still he was condemned, his book was suppressed, and he made to apologize for having published the sentiments contained in it.

Four centuries before the time of Selden, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, Francis of Assisi organized the order of friars which received his name. The members of this order were not only forbidden to hold property as individuals, the rule with monks in the Catholic church, but also as members of a religious corporation.

John Wyclif, who died just two hundred years before Selden was born, maintained strenuously that the condition of priests should be that of poverty (without mendicancy, however), and vigorously opposed ecclesiastical endowments by individuals and subsidies to the church from the

¹ History of Massachusetts, 3d ed., vol. I., p. 319, note.

state. Wyclif was also ready to adopt to a certain extent the voluntary principle in regard to the payment of tithes. He would not relieve the people from the support of the ministry. He would have them urged to pay tithes, even excommunicated if they persistently refused to pay them.¹ But he would have tithes used very largely for relieving the distresses of the poor, and allow out of them only a meagre support to priests and have the parishioners withhold even this small compensation after having decided in an orderly manner that the priests are unfaithful in respect to the discharge of their duties.² "Think ye wisely," says the great reformer, "ye men that find" (maintain) "priests, that ye do this alms for God's love, and help of your souls, and help of Christian men and not for pride of the world to have them occupied in worldly office and vanity."³

The work from which this extract is taken "exhorts the laity to support worthy priests, and such only; admonishing them, that if they furnish the means of subsistence to men of an opposite character, they will be found partakers in all the sin, mischief, and punishment attendant on the course of unfaithful stewards."⁴

From a passage in *The Great Sentence of the Curse Expounded* it would seem, indeed, that Wyclif sometimes, at least, felt that it would be best that tithes should be given up altogether rather than that those abuses of their products which he saw around him should be tolerated. "If," writes he, "tithes were due by God's commandment, then everywhere in Christendom would be one mode of tithing, but it is not so. Would God that all wise and true

¹ Always, however, "on the condition that the discipline is exercised for the good of the sinner and not for the greed of the priest," writes F. D. Matthew in his introduction to the English works of Wyclif, hitherto unprinted, published by the Early English Text Society, p. XXXVIII. or p. XXXIX.

² *Ibid.*, p. XXXVIII. or p. XXXIX.

³ *De Stipendiis Ministrorum. Tracts and Treatises of John De Wycliffe*, D.D. Edited for the Wycliffe Society by Robert Vaughan, D.D., p. 43.

⁴ Analysis of Wycliffe's *De Stipendiis Ministrorum in Tracts and Treatises*, etc., just referred to, p. 43.

men would inquire whether it were not better for to find good priests by free alms of the people, and in a reasonable and poor livelihood, to teach the gospel in word and deed as did Christ and his apostles, than thus to pay tithes to a worldly priest, ignorant and negligent, as men are now constrained to do by bulls and new ordinances of priests.”¹

Honorable Arthur Elliot states in his recent volume entitled “The State and the Church,” that the provision by tithes for the support of religion is of no very early institution in Christian countries and that it does not appear to have been known before the end of the fourth century.²

He differs from Dr. Morgan Cove, Prebendary of Hereford, who suggests in his *Essay on the Revenues of the Church of England*, written in 1816, that the institution of tithes must have been contained “in some unrecorded revelation made to Adam and by him and his descendants delivered down to posterity.”³

The plan of supporting ministers by giving them the right to take tithes, after a time became general throughout Christendom.⁴

The payment of tithes was ordered in England “by ecclesiastical councils at the end of the eighth century; and on the Continent of Europe at about the same time, was prescribed by an ordinance of Charlemagne.”⁵

Tithes have never been abolished in England, but by the Tithe Commutation Act passed in 1836, they were generally changed into semi-annual money payments.

During the few years which preceded the appearance of Selden’s great work considerable interest seems to have been manifested in England in discussing the grounds on which the institution of tithes rests, and in that period several treatises were put forth to prove that it is founded in divine right. Jeremiah Stephens, in a preface to the

¹ Analysis of Wycliffe’s *De Stipendiis Ministrorum*, Chapter XVII. Quoted in Tracts and Treatises, etc., p. 40.

² Page 85. ³ Elliot, p. 86. ⁴ Page 85. ⁵ Page 86.

work of Sir Henry Spelman, in which the maintenance of tithes is earnestly advocated, published in 1646, states that that work was prepared a long time before that date. Spelman's smaller work on tithes, which is attached to his *De non temerandis ecclesiis*, was printed in 1613. Tithes were collected as usual during the existence of the Commonwealth, both under Presbyterian rule and when Independency was in the ascendant.

The long parliament, indeed, in 1649 voted that tithes should be taken away as soon as another maintenance for the clergy could be agreed upon, and this action led to petitions praying that this affair might be brought to an issue.¹ The plan of exacting tithes was still continued, however. The clergy became alarmed by the action of the little parliament (Barebone's), 1653, because they "saw their wealth menaced by the establishment of civil marriage and by proposals to substitute the free contributions of congregations for the payment of tithes."² There was a decision against tithes in that body, but immediately after it was reached the parliament passed out of existence and the old method of supporting ministers remained.³

The constitution of 1657 maintained an established clergy in the enjoyment of tithes or other settled stipends.⁴ Cromwell, himself, favored the maintenance of ministers by the imposition of tithes. Tithes, however, found a staunch opponent in John Milton. In his *Defensio Secunda*, which was published in 1654, he says that persecution in the church "will never cease, so long as men are bribed to preach the gospel by a mercenary salary, which is forcibly extorted, rather than gratuitously bestowed, which serves only to poison religion and to strangle truth."⁵ The paro-

¹ History of the Puritans, by Daniel Neale, new edition by Joshua Tolmin, pub. by Charles Ewer, Boston, and E. W. Allen, Newburyport, 1847, vol. IV., p. 86. Harper & Bros., 1844.

² A Short History of the English People, by J. R. Green, Harper & Bros., 1880, p. 566. ³ Page 567. ⁴ Milton, by Mark Patterson, p. 119.

⁵ Prose works of John Milton, Bohn's edition, 1848, p. 293.

chial clergy, he says, "are stuffed with tithes in a way disapproved by the rest of the reformed churches; and they have so little trust in God, that they choose to extort a maintenance, rather by judicial force, and magisterial authority, than to owe it to divine providence, or the gratitude and benevolence of their congregations."¹ In his Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the church, etc., published in 1659, Milton writes "So that when all is done, and belly hath used in vain all her cunning shifts, I doubt not but all true ministers, considering the demonstration of what hath been here proved, will be wise, and think it much more tolerable to hear, that no maintenance of ministers, whether tithes or any other, can be settled by statute, but must be given by them who receive instruction; and freely given as God hath ordained. And, indeed, what can be a more honorable maintenance to them than such, whether alms or willing oblations, as these; which being accounted both alike as given to God, the only acceptable sacrifices now remaining, must needs represent him who receives them much in the care of God, and nearly related to him, when not by worldly force and constraint, but with religious awe and reverence, what is given to God, is given to him; and what to him, accounted as given to God."² "Nothing," says Mark Patterson, "was more abhorrent to Milton's sentiment than state payment in religious things. The minister who receives such pay becomes a state pensioner, a hireling. The law of tithes is a Jewish law, repealed by the Gospel, under which the minister is only maintained by the free will offerings of the congregation to which he ministers. This antipathy to hired preachers was one of Milton's earliest convictions. It thrusts itself, rather importunately, into Lycidas (1636), and reappears in the Sonnet to Cromwell (Sonnet XVI., 1652), before it

¹ Prose works of John Milton, Bohn's edition, 1848, p. 275.

² Prose works of John Milton, vol. III., p. 84.

is dogmatically expounded in the pamphlet *Considerations touching means to remove Hirelings out of the Church* (1659). Of the two corruptions of the church by the secular power, one by force, the other by pay, Milton regards the last as the most dangerous. Under force, though no thanks to the forcers, true religion oftentimes best thrives and flourishes; but the corruption of teachers, most commonly the effect of hire, is the very bane of truth in them who are so corrupted.”¹

Let us now return to the years when James the First was king, and consider the utterances and proceedings of the contemporaries of our Pilgrim fathers who agreed with them in matters of faith and church polity. On the occasion of the accession of James to the throne of England, which occurrence took place March 24, 1602–3,² the exiles in the Separatist church at Amsterdam presented to the king a memorial in which they asked to be suffered to live in peace in their native land without being urged to “the vse or approbation of any remnants of poperie & humane traditions.”³ Failing to obtain the privileges asked for they submitted, writes Dr. Dexter, “a supplementary petition, noting: *The Heads of differences between them and the Church of England, as they understood it.*”⁴ Under the seventh head they asserted as their belief “That the due maintenance of the Officers aforesaid” (pastors, teachers, elders, deacons and helpers), “should be of the free and voluntary contribution of the Church, that according to Christ’s Ordinance, they which preach the Gosspell may live of the Gosspell: and not by Popish Lordships and Livings, or Jewish Tithes and Offerings. And that therefore the Lands and other like revewenes of the Prelats and Clergie yet remayning (being still also baits to allure the Jesuites

¹ Milton, by Mark Patterson, pp. 119, 120.

² According as old or new style is employed in designating the year.

³ Apologie, etc. (to be referred to hereafter), p. 34.

⁴ Congregationalism of the last three hundred years as seen in its literature, etc., by Henry M. Dexter, p. 306.

and Seminaries into the Land, and incitements vnto them to plott and prosecute their wonted evil courses, in hope to enjoy them in tyme to come) may now by your Highness be taken away, and converted to better vse as those of the Abbeys and Nunneries have been heeretofore by your maies-tyes worthie predecessors to the honor of God and to great good of the Realme.”¹ A third and still more elaborate supplication followed. To none of the petitions did the king respond favorably, and “the ‘Vice-Chancelour, the Doctors, both the Proctors, and other the Heads of Houses in the Vniversitye of Oxford,’ ” says Dr. Dexter,² “published a quarto of forty-four pages,³ principally directed against a ‘Humble Petition’ presented by ‘Ministers of the Church of England desiring Reformation of certayne Ceremonies & abuses of the Church,’ but in which they turned aside to attack these other petitioners, stigmatizing them as ‘absurd Brownists,’⁴ having a ‘selfe conceited confidence,’⁵ and holding ‘pestilent and blasphemous conclusions.’⁶ This led in 1604 to the issue of An Apologie or Defence of svch Trve Christians as are commonlie (but vniustly) called Brovynists, etc.,⁷ in which the exiles published their three

¹ Congregationalism in the last three hundred years, etc., pp. 307, 308.

² Congregationalism, etc., p. 309.

³ The Answere of the Vice-Chancelour, the Doctors, etc., of the University of Oxford, etc., to the Humble Petition, etc., Oxford, 1603, 4to, pp. XII., 32.

⁴ Answere, etc., II. ⁵ Ibid., 12.

⁶ [F. Johnson and H. Ainsworth.]—An Apologie or Defence of Svh Trve Christians as are commonly (but vniustly) called Brovynists: against such imputations as are layd vpon them by the Heads and Doctors of the University of Oxford, in their Ansver to the humble Petition of the Ministers of the Church of England, desiring reformation of certayne Ceremonies and abuses of the Church, 1604, 4°, pp. XVI., 118. This work is No. 264 in Collections towards a Bibliography of Congregationalism, an Appendix to Dexter’s Congregationalism, &c. Copies of it are very scarce. In this country one may be found in our own library and others in the Prince Library and in the library of Harvard College. Dr. Dexter also owns a copy of it, as does Mr. Charles Deane. The extracts which I shall give from the work were kindly made for me by Dr. Dexter from his copy by his own hand. The extracts to follow from Ainsworth’s Covnterpoynson and from J. Smyth’s Paralles, Censvres, Observations, etc., were also made for me in the same kind manner, by Dr. Dexter, from copies in his possession. I do not know that there is another copy in this country of the latter work besides the one here used. No other is mentioned as owned in

petitions, and replied at length to the attack of the Oxford Doctors."

In the reply several of the positions maintained by the Amsterdam Separatists are stated with fulness. The seventh of these opens with the paragraph recited above as the seventh head in the Heads of difference, &c., contained in the supplementary petition presented to King James. Then follow a number of references to passages in the Bible and an account of the reasons which induced the writers of the Apologie to declare the voluntary system to be the correct method for use in maintaining ministers. A copy of the references to Scripture and of the reasons is given in a note.¹

America in the Collections, etc., mentioned above, in which Smyth's work is numbered 352. Ainsworth's Covnterpoysen is No. 338 in the same list. A copy of this rare book may be found in the Prince Library. The extract to be given in this essay has been made, as stated before, from a copy belonging to Dr. Dexter, of later date, however (1642), than the original edition (1608). A copy of the later edition, dated 1642, may be seen in the Congregational Library, Boston.

¹ 1 Cor. 9. 7-14. Gal. 6. 6. 1 Thess. 5. 13. 1 Tim. 5. 17. 18. compared with Prov. 3. 9. 10. and with Num. 18. 8-32. Deut. 18. 1-5. and 25. 4. 2 Chron. 31. 4-21. Nehem. 13. 10-14. Mal. 3. 8, 9, 10. Heb. 7. 5, 12. Luke 8. 3. and 10. 7. Rom. 15. 27. Rev. 17. 16.

1. Because Christ hath ordeyned, that so it should be now in the tyme of the Gospell. 1 Cor. 9. 14. Gal. 6. 6. 1 Thess. 5. 13. 1 Tim. 5. 17. 18.

2. Because the Law of Tithes did cease with the chaunge of the Leviticall Priesthood. Heb. 7. 12. and els why did Christ ordeyne another maintenance for the Ministery of the Gospell, differing from (yet proportionable vnto) that which was for the Priesthood vnder the Law? 1 Cor. 9. 18, 14. Or why should this ceremonie of the Law, be vnabolished by Christ, more than the rest? Num. 18. 24. with Heb. 7. 5, 12. and 9. 10. and 10. 1. Gal. 5. 1. 2. 3. Col. 2. 8-17.

3. Because God, vnder the Law, would not have his Ministers the Priests and Levites to have any part or inheritance, as the other Israelites had, in the Land of Canaan; but himself was their inheritance. Of & by the offerings & altar of the Lord they were susteyned. Deut. 10. 8, 9. & 18. 1-5; Iosb. 13. 14. 33. According to the equity whereof, is the maintenance of the Ministerie of Christ now to be. 1 Cor. 9. 13. 14. Where note also, that as the Ministers of the Gospell ought, in respect of their Ministerie, to have their due maintenance appointed by Christ (that they may, as the other before, be encouraged in the Law of the Lord, and better attend to their function and Ministerie:) so may they not for it now, any more than at that tyme, devise or require any

Rev. Richard Bernard, a clergyman of the Puritan branch of the Church of England, published in 1608 a work entitled "Christian Advertisements and Counsels of Peace. Also Disswasions from the Separatists Schisme, commonly called Brownisme, &c." This book created a sensation among the Separatists and was replied to by the Teacher of the "Ancient Church" at Amsterdam, Henry Ainsworth, and by John Smyth, who at first was connected with the same church but in about the year 1607 seceded from it with a number of followers and formed a second church.¹

Bernard stated it to be a position of the Separatists "*That ministers should onely live of voluntarie contribu-*

other than is ordeyned by the Lord himself. For which, see the Scriptures alledged before in the Position itself.

4. Because Princes are bound not onely to see the true Ministerie and worship of God established and mainteyned, according to his word: but also to take away and convert to other vse, the demeanes revenewes and maintenance of any false Ministeries and vnlawfull ecclesiastical functions within their Dominions. 2 Chro. 31. chap. with Deut. 17. 18, 19, 20. Esa. 49. 23. and 60. 3. 10. 11. 12. Psal. 2. 10. 11. 12. 1 Tim. 2. 2. with Reve. 17. 16.

5. Because there should els still remayne such a maner of maintenance, as by which any Ministerie that should be received in the Land, though never so Popish or vnlawfull, might be mainteyned. Contrarie to Prov. 3. 9. 10. Rev. 17. 16. and 18. 11. Psalm. 16. 3. 4. with Exod. 20: 4. 5. 6. 1 Cor. 9. 14. and 10. 19. 20. 21. 22. Ephes. 5. 11.

6. Because there is no more warrant in the word of God for the Lordships and Livings of the Prelates and Priests to be continued, then for the Abbey Lands of the Fryers and Nunnes to be restored.

7. Because by the ordinance of Christ, it should still be seen, that the Maintenance of the Ministers belongeth vnto them for preaching the Gospell, and commeth from the people of love and dutie in that behalf. 1 Cor. 9. 14. 1 Thess. 5. 18. Gal. 6. 6. 1 Tim. 5. 17. 18. Whereas that which is now had in the Land is such, as the Prelates and Priests do exact (and the people are constreyned to yeld it vnto them) be they never so vngodly, vnlearned, &c. Besides that the Iesuites & Seminaries, and other the like, are by this meanes stirred vp to attempt and follow still their wicked and treasonable practises, hoping for a day when their Religion may in the full thereof enloy them againe: As is before noted in the Position it self.

¹This second church, says Dr. Dexter, was founded on "substantially the same basis of general faith, but with many differences of what we should think minor details." Early in 1609 Smyth was cast out of the second church with about forty followers, who sympathized with him on account of changed views, and appears to have remained the pastor of his little excommunicated company until his death in 1612. See H. M. Dexter's *Congregationalism*, etc., p. 313.

tion, and not either of set stipends or tithes," and replied to it by saying "This is against the wisedom of God, who allowed a settled maintenance vnder the Law: and there is nothing against it in the Gospell."¹

Ainsworth's answer to Bernard on this point is as follows:

"Ans. God in wisdome appoyned *tithes, first fruiles,* & other particulars for his Priests liuelihod vnder the law: Christ in wisdom appoyngett noē such for his ministers under the gospell; but Pope *Paschalis* about 827 yeares after Christ' decreed that tithes should be giuen to the priests. This Popes wisdome *Mr. Ber.* preferreth before Christs. It cannot be deneyed but tithes were a part of the Law, and that Christ abolished the legal Priesthood; whervpon it followeth by the playn doctrine of the Gospel, *if the priesthood be changed, then of necessity must there be a change of the law.* *Heb. 7. 12.* But *Mr. Bern.* had rather any shadow should be done away than this of *Tithes,* for it hath much substance with it: and there be mōe siluer-smithes of Demetrius minde which sayd,³ *Sirs ye know, that by this craft we haue our goods.* But what sayth one of their own ancient Martyrs against Mr. Bernards predeces-sors:⁴ *This Priesthood is blorn so high and borne vp in pride and rayne glory of their estate and dignity, and so blinded with worldly coretousnes that they disdayne to follow Christ in very meeknes and wilfull pouerty, liuing holily, and preaching Gods word truely freely and continually, taking their liuelihood at the freewill of the People; of their pure almose, wher and when they suffice not for their true and busy preaching to get their sustenance with their hands.* To this true sentence grounded on Christs own living, and teaching of his Apostles, these foresayd worldly and fleshly

¹ Christian Advertisements and Counsels of Peace. Also disswasions from the Separatists Schisme, commonly called Brownisme, which is set apart from such truths as they take from vs, and other Reformed Churches, etc., by R. Bernard, 1608, p. 156. Rev. Dr. Dexter has a copy of this work.

² *Qu. 19. ch. 1. Decimus populu.* ³ *Acts 19: 15.*

⁴ *Acts and monuments. Willā. Thor. in his testament.*

priests, will not consent effectually, &c. If this martyr were now alive, the Clergie of England would sooner condemn him for a *Brownist* than approue of his doctrine; albeit now that he is dead, they garnish his toomb.”¹

John Smyth replied to Bernard as follows:

“Ans. We reject it, for we hold it lawful for the Elders of the Church to receave weekly, monthly, or yeerely a pencion of the Church for their labors, al that we teach concerning the mayntenance of the ministerie is this.

1. That it is vnlawful for the Elders of the Church to challengd at the hands of them that are infidels & vnbelievers, tithes & offerings as you do.

2. Wee hold that tithes are either Iewish or popish,

3. That the officers of the visible Church may receive any gift of any Frend that is without, & live of it.

4. That the officers of the Church in the necessity of the Church ought to work for their living, as Paul made tents.

5. That the officers of the Church may challengd mayntenance of the Church, if the Church be able to yeld it.

6. That also the poore of the Church may require mayntenance vpon the same grounds for we are al members one of another, & have al things common in vse, though not in possession: al these particulars are plaine by these Scriptures, Heb. 7. 12. & 9. 9. Act. 2. 44. 45. 1 Cor. 9. 1-15. Gal. 6. 6 & 4. 9. 10. Col. 2. 16. 17. 20. 21.

This is the substance of that wee hold herein and therefore Mr. Bern. you do vs open wrong in this point also.

Paralleles, Censures, Observations, aperleyning to the sixteenth Section.

“Mr. Bern. pag. 156. of the Sep. Schisme avoucheth that to deny tithes, & a set mayntenance to Ministers is contrary to the Lords wisdom, who vnder the law appointeth tithes a set maintenāce, & ther is nothing against it in the gospel:

¹ Covnterpoynson, etc., by H. Ainsworth, originally published in 1608. This extract as stated before is from the edition of 1642, p. 115.

I answer with the Apostle, the old Testament (I doe not meane the writings of the Law, the Prophets, & the Psalmes) and the ordinances thereof are abolished: The bond woeman and her Children are cast out, Gallat. 4. 30. and if ther bee a chandg of the Preisthood ther must needes bee a chandg of the law, Heb. 7. 12. Wherefore seing set stipends by tithes were a part of these worldly ordinances of the old Testament, of those impotent & beggarly rudiments, of that yoke of bondage whence Christ has set vs free: it followeth that set mayntenance by tythes is abolished by Christ: & as the liberty of the gospel is to be carefully preserved in other things, as in that of circumcision, of the pasover, of the preisthood, of the Sacrifices and the rest, So must it bee carefully preserved even in this particular of set maintenance by tithes, for if any Mosaicall, impotent, beggerly rudiment, or worldly ordinance: if any part of the yoke of bondage may be joyned with Christ, why not all? if not all, why may any? Againe wheras you say there is nothing against set mayntenance by tithes in the New Testament, I demaund two things: 1. Whither Christ hath not abolished the Mosaicall ordinances & brought in the New Testament? & whither this be not contrary to set maintenance by tithes? 2. Whither wee ought not to have somthing for set mayntenance by tithes in the New Testament, (if it must be retayned) that wee vpon fayth may submit vnto it? Seing that whatsoeuer is not of Fayth is sinne: So that this speach of yours, viz: ther is nothing against it in the gospel, is both false, & if it were true, yet is insufficient, seing that it is not a good plea to say ther is nothing against it, except wee can also say, that ther is somthing for it: & thus much for this point."¹ Bernard answered² the arguments contained in the books of Ainsworth and Smyth.

¹ Paralleles, Censures, Observations, &c., by J. Smyth, 1609, p. 120.

² Plaine Evidences: the Church of England is Apostolical; the Separation Schismatiacall, directed against Mr. Ainsworth the Separatist, and Mr. Smyth the Se-baptist, etc., 1610.

Then John Robinson, the pastor of the Pilgrims, joined in the controversy and replied to both of Bernard's works, in a book published in 1610 and entitled *A justification of Separation from the Church of England, &c.* He says "To conclude this point, since tithes and offerings were appurtenances unto the priesthood, and that the priesthood both of Melchizedec, and Levi are abolished in Christ, as the shadow in the substance, and that the Lord hath ordained that they which preach the gospel, should live of the gospel, we do willingly leave unto you both your priestly order, and maintenance, contenting ourselves with the peoples voluntary contribution, whether it be less or more, as the blessing of God upon our labor, the fruit of our ministry, and a declaration of their love and duty. Psal. cx. : 4 ; Heb. vii. : 17 ; viii. ; ix. ; 1 Cor. ix. : 14."¹

Besides the testimony of Henry Ainsworth in favor of the system of supporting the ministry by voluntary payments, there has come down to us an account of the Sunday services in the "ancient church" at Amsterdam of which that learned man was the Teacher, from which we find out what was one at least of the means resorted to in raising money to pay the salaries of the officers of the church. The order of Sabbath services appears in a work by Richard Clyfton,² who states that when the other exercises had been engaged in, a "collection" was "then made

¹ The Works of John Robinson, published by John Snow, 35 Paternoster Row, London, 1851, vol. 2, 407. Mr. Robinson refers the reader of his book to the writings of Ainsworth and Smyth. In the edition of his works (1851) which I have used, notes in the portion of the book from which the quotation has been made refer to the specific works of those authors from which extracts have just been given, namely, the Counterpoyson and Paralleles. Although these are undoubtedly the works the perusal of which Robinson recommends, there is no reference to them specifically in the original edition of Robinson's *Justification, &c.* (1610), or in the first reprint of the work (1639). So Rev. Dr. Dexter informs the writer of this report. Mr. Robinson does, however, in the original edition of his book refer specifically to position 7 of *An Apologie*, etc.

² An Advertisement concerning a Book lately published by C. Lawne and others, against the English Exiled Church at Amsterdam, etc., by R. Clyfton, 1612.

as each one was able for the support of the officers, and the poor."

After the Pilgrims came to Plymouth they were without a pastor, present among them, for about ten years. William Brewster, their Elder, partially supplied the place of such an officer. The writer of this report nowhere finds any statement to show that Brewster received compensation for his ministerial services. Perhaps he had no salary. The planters who came to Plymouth and certain merchant adventurers in England, as is well known, formed a joint stock partnership before the Pilgrims came to this country which continued according to agreement for seven years. The compact¹ entered into by the parties engaged in the enterprise contains no stipulation regarding the plans to be followed in supporting the ministry of the colony. That support appears to have been rendered voluntarily until the year 1655. There was a close connection at Plymouth between church and state, but in that respect the colonists seem to have abstained from the use of force and to have adopted the plan in use in Amsterdam in conformity with the teachings of their revered pastor, John Robinson.

One method of supporting the gospel which was in vogue in Amsterdam seems to have been employed at Plymouth, namely, that of taking up a contribution as a part of the Sabbath services.

If the officers of the church had salaries it seems probable that a portion of the money raised in this way was given to them as in Amsterdam and in Boston.

Governor Winthrop and Rev. Mr. Wilson of Boston spent a Sunday at Plymouth in the autumn of 1632, and the services of the church there on that day are described by the former in his journal, under the date of October 25. He says that in the afternoon, after several persons had spoken, "the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in

¹ Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, Colls. of the Mass'tts Hist. Soc., 4th Ser., vol. III., p. 45.

mind of their duty of contribution; wherepon the Governour and all the rest went down to the deacon's seat and put into the box and then returned."¹

The first constraining law in regard to ministerial support enacted in Plymouth Colony, was passed the fifth day of June, 1655. It provided as follows, for occasion when it should appear that there was a real "defect" in regard to the due maintenance of ministers on the part of "heurers": "the Majestrates shall use all gentle meanes to p. suade them to doe theire duty heerin. But if any of them shall not heerby bee reclaimed but shall persist through plaine obstinacy against an ordinance of God that then it shalbee in the power of the Majistrate to use such other meanes as may put them upon their duty."²

A law was passed June, 1657, which provided "That in whatsoever Township there is or shalbee an able Godly Teaching Minister which is approved by this Government that then four men be chosen by the Inhabitants or incase of theire neglect chosen by any three or more of the Majestrates to make an equall and just proportion upon the estates of the Inhabitants according to their abillities to make up such a convenient maintenance for his comfortable attendance on his worke as shallbee agreed upon by the Church in each township where any is with the concurrance of the rest of the Inhabitants if it may be had or by the Majistrates aforesaid incase of their apparent neglect and that destresse, according as in other just cases provided, bee made upon such as refuse to pay such theire proportions which is in justice due. But in case there bee any other way whereby any township doe or shall agree that

¹ History of New England from 1630 to 1649, by John Winthrop. Vol. I., pp. 109, 110.

² The compact with the Charter and Laws of the colony of New Plymouth, &c., published under the supervision of William Brigham, 1836, p. 90. Records of the Colony of New Plymouth, edited by David Pulsifer, p. 64.

may effect the end aforesaid this law not to be binding to them.”¹

In explanation of the necessity of resorting to compulsory support of ministers, Francis Baylies says “A wild spirit (engendered perhaps in England,) had gone forth, which proclaimed war upon carnal learning, and relied for religious instruction upon the miserable crudities of ‘gifted men,’ upon whose minds it was fondly hoped a divine influence was operating, which superseded the necessity of ‘book learning,’ and that the word of the Lord might as well proceed from the lips of such rude, unlettered expounders, as from such as had by their midnight lamps and painful watches, mastered all the intricacies of the primeval languages of the scriptures, and expounded the holy writings after a critical investigation of their analogies, and a careful comparison of the evidence.”²

However much this consideration may have influenced the colonists, it is easy to see that other causes could not but have operated to bring about a change in the early policy of the Plymouth Colony. Thus the religious enthusiasm of some of the settlers must have subsided. Differences must have arisen about the advisability of adopting plans proposed from time to time. The penuriousness of some men must have shown itself in small contributions. Many men who had no real interest in the particular tenets of the Pilgrims, but who lived in the colony, would dislike to pay a tax for the support of ministers unless obliged to do so.

It must have become evident in the course of time that if it were considered imperative that everybody should be brought under the direct influence of religious organizations which should uphold a specified kind of theology and

¹ Records published under supervision of William Brigham, p. 102. Records edited by David Pulsifer, p. 67.

² An historical memoir of the colony of New Plymouth, by Francis Baylies, with some corrections, &c., by Samuel G. Drake, vol. I., Part II., pp. 94, 95.

church polity it would become necessary to resort to general taxation to pay for their maintenance. Many persons would shirk the payment of taxes if the way to do so were open to them. Others who paid taxes would complain if their neighbors did not pay them. All persons might have the benefit to be had from the religious institutions; all should therefore afford them pecuniary support. The fact that some of the inhabitants did not value the gospel privileges that were provided should not be considered since it was believed by the majority of voters that the welfare of the community depended upon the establishment and maintenance of that kind of religious institutions which had hitherto been supported.

Having considered the plans and motives of residents in the Plymouth Colony in which the Separatist traditions of Amsterdam and the teachings of Robinson were influential, let us now turn to the colony of Massachusetts Bay, whose founders had not been subjected to Separatist influences before coming to America, but had sprung from the Puritan branch of the Church of England. What practice prevailed among the early settlers of this colony, and what principles guided them, in respect to the plans in vogue for rendering compensation for the services of ministers. The agreements¹ made with the first ministers of the first church in the colony of Massachusetts Bay, namely, the one at Salem, can easily be had in print. They are dated April 8, 1629. The ministers were Reverends Messrs. Skelton and Higginson. We have also readily accessible the compact made with Rev. Mr. Bright,² February 2, 1628-9, who came from Great Britain to America under agreement to serve the first body of emigrants, but who did not enter into active ministry under that agreement. From these documents we learn the amount of the compensation which the ministers were to receive, but they give no information

¹ Chronicles of the first planters of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, by A. Young, pp. 209-12. ² Ibid., p. 207.

regarding the plans to be adopted in raising the money, etc., needed in paying the salaries. Reverends Messrs. Warham and Maverick were chosen in England the ministers of the company of emigrants who came to Dorchester, but nothing appears anywhere to show how the money needed for their support was to be obtained.

At a General Court of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay held in London, October 15, 1629, it was agreed "That the charge of the ministers now there, or that shall hereafter goe to resyde there, as also the charge of building convenient churches, and all other publique works vpon the plantaçon, bee in like man'r indifferently borne, the one halfe by the Companyes ioynt stock for the said tearme of 7 yeeres, and the other halfe by the planters."¹ The expression "tearme of 7 yeeres" will be explained by quoting from the record of the proceedings of the same meeting another paragraph, as follows: "That the companye's joint stock shall have the trade of beav' and all other ffures in these pts soly, for the tearme of 7 yeares from this day, for and in consideraçon of the charge that the joynt stock hath vndergone already, and is yett annually to beare, for the advançm't of the plantaçon."²

Hutchinson says that no notice was taken in the colony of the provision in the order of the General Court that one-half of the compensation of ministers should be paid out of the joint stock.³

At another General Court held (February 10, 1629-30), before the transfer of the Charter of the Company to this country it was propounded that as money was needed that could not be conveniently paid out of the joint stock, in the "furtherance of the plantaçon" "that a comon stock should bee raysed from such as beare good affecçon to the plantaçon, & the pagaçon therof, and the same to bee employed only in defrayment of publique charges, as maintenance of

¹ Records of the Governor and Company of Mass'tts Bay, p. 55. ² Ibid.

³ Hist. of Mass'tts, vol. I., p. 20.

ministers, transporta^con of poore famylyes, building of churches & ffortyfyca^cons, & all other publique and necessary occasions of the planta^con.”¹

After the arrival of the immigrants in this country bringing with them the charter, the first order passed at the first Court of Assistants, holden at Charlestown, August 23, 1630, provided that houses for Rev. Messrs. Wilson and Phillips should be built at the “publique charge.” The second order of that court directed that Mr. Phillips should have a salary of forty pounds a year or its equivalent, and Mr. Wilson twenty pounds “till his wife come ouer.” “All this to be att the comon charge, those of Mattapan and Salem onely exempted.”²

At a Court of Assistants held in Boston, November 30, 1630, “It is ordered, that there shalbe 60^x collected out of the seuall planta^cons followeing, for the maintenance of Mr. Wilson & Mr. Phillips, vzs: out of Boston, 20^x; Watertown, 20^x; Charlton, 10^x; Rokesbury, 6^x; Meadford, 3^x; Winnettsemett, 1^x.³

Salem and Mattapan (Dorchester) are not included in this levy because they had ministers of their own for whose support provision had already, presumably, been made.

Although we thus find the Court of Assistants imposing a tax for the support of the ministry under date of November 30, 1630, we find no evidence that another tax was levied to pay the salaries of ministers until 1638, when the following law was passed by the General Court, which assembled on the sixth of September in that year.⁴

¹ Records of the Governor and Company of Mass'tts Bay, p. 68.

² Ibid. p. 78. ³ Ibid. p. 82.

⁴ Joel Parker does not seem to have appreciated the effort that was made in Massachusetts Bay to support ministers by voluntary contributions, after the beginning of things here. He says in a lecture before the Lowell Institute, delivered under the auspices of the Massachusetts Historical Society, “The Puritans being satisfied with the mode of supporting ministers by a tax, which we have seen was originally adopted at the first meeting of the Court of Assistants in the Colony, continued it by subsequent enactments,” &c. (Lectures delivered in a course before the Lowell Institute in Boston, by members

"This court takeing into consideration the necessity of an equall contribution to all comon charges in townes, & observing that the cheife occation of the defect hearin ariseth from hence, that many of those who are not free-men, nor members of any church, do take advantage thereby to wth draw their helpe in such voluntary contributions as are in vse,—

It is therefore hearby declared, that evry inhabitant in any towne is lyable to contribute to all charges, both in church & comon welth, whereof hee doth or may receive benefit; & withall it is also ordered, that every such inhabitant who shall not voluntarily contribute, p portionably to his ability, wth other freemen of the same towne, to all comon charges, as well for vpholding the ordinances in the churches as otherwise, shalbee compelled thereto by assessment & distres to bee levied by the cunstable, or other officer of the towne, as in other cases."¹

of the Massachusetts Historical Society, p. 415.) True, but a period of several years intervened between the action of the first Court of Assistants and the passage of the law of 1638.

¹ One year earlier, however, at a General Court held at "Newetowne" on November 20, 1637, it was ordered by a special act that money should be raised in "Neweberry" by a public tax to pay a debt that had been incurred by the town in "building of houses for their minist"."—(Records, &c., vol. I., p. 216.) In the original records of the town of Watertown the first entry, which is under the date of 1634, is as follows: "Agreed, that the charge of the Meeting House shall be gathered by a Rate justly levied upon every man proportionally unto his Estate."—(Bond's Genealogies, &c., of Watertown, 2nd ed., 1860, p. 995). 1635[?36], Aug. 7th, we find this entry also: "Agreed, that the charges of the new meeting house being a Rate of 80 lbs. shalbe levied as other generall levies for the Country."—(Ib., p. 995.) Convers Francis in his Historical Sketch of Watertown (Appendix, p. 187), says: "The support of the ministers had before" (that is, before the time of the appearance of Briscoe's book, in 1642), "been drawn from voluntary contributions." Probably a different plan was pursued by some of the towns in raising money to build meeting-houses from what was pursued in collecting funds for the support of ministers. In Boston, meeting-houses seem to have been paid for by voluntary contribution in very early times. Thus Winthrop says in 1632, that "The congregation of Boston and Charlestown began the meeting-house at Boston, for which, and Mr. Wilson's house they had made a voluntary contribution of about one hundred and twenty pounds."—(Winthrop's History of New England, vol. I., p. 104). Winthrop also notes the procedure in Boston in regard to building a meeting-house a few years later (1639). He says: "Their old

It would seem from an examination of the laws of the colony that, after the steps taken at first to raise money to pay the salaries of ministers by taxation, there was a period of several years when voluntary contributions were relied on for the support of the ministry. This conclusion is corroborated by the statements of early writers and by the impressions which a student receives in reading the older portions of the histories of the towns in Massachusetts, which were first founded, and of the history of the Commonwealth, and works which throw light on the doings and faith of our ancestors here.

In the case of *Giddings vs. Browne*, in which Samuel Symonds, a justice, gave judgment in Ipswich in favor of the plaintiff, which case was appealed to Salem Court and by the advice of that Court and the consent of the parties, stated for action to the General Court, and decided by it; Samuel Symonds, in stating at length (in 1657) the grounds on which his judgment rested, after giving the substance of the law quoted above as passed by the General Court in 1638,¹ proceeds as follows: "Before this recited law was made, though some churches, or townes rather, did agree how much yearly maintenance the minister should have, yet it was not rated, at least in any compellable way, by the towne, but men did pay their proportion in a way of voluntary contribution. But some (especially non members) some of them did grow slacke; and so the burthen grew too hevy upon church members, &c. And upon consideration it was found lawfull to make a law to compell everyone to beare his owne share; forasmuch as by hearing the word

meeting-house, being decayed and too small, they sold it away, and agreed to build another, whiche workmen undertook to set up for £600. Three hundred they had for the old, and the rest was to be gathered by voluntary contribution, as other charges were."—(History of New England, vol. I., p. 382). Writing in 1640, he says that the new meeting-house "cost about £1000. which was raised out of the weekly voluntary contribution without any noise or complaint, when in some other churches which did it by way of rates, there was much difficulty and compulsion by levies to raise a far less sum."—(Ib., vol. 2, p. 28).

¹ Records, &c., vol. I., p. 240.

and publique prayer, &c., he did or might receive a benefit and (in a way of God) be received as a member with the rest. and yet the law was framed soe, as such churches as chose rather to goe in a voluntary way of weekly contribution or soe, might soe continue, notwithstanding this law, as some churches in this country doe to this day."¹

In the standard treatise on Massachusetts Ecclesiastical Law, written by Edward Buck, the author in describing the support given to the gospel here does not go back of the law of 1638, but only refers the reader for an account of plans in earlier use (p. 24) to an article in the Congregational Quarterly, vol. I., p. 158.²

¹ Hutchinson Papers (Edition of the Prince Society), vol. II., pp. 6 & 7.

² In the following extracts glimpses may be obtained of the plans in use in the colony for raising the salaries of ministers in years immediately succeeding the passage of the law of 1638.

In March, 1642-3, Winthrop writes "The churches held a different course in raising the ministers' maintenance. Some did it by way of taxation, which was very offensive to some."

Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, in a note on p. 50 of his edition of Plaine Dealing, writes, "When Roger Williams" (1644) "objected to the 'constraint laid upon all consciences * * * * to come to church and pay church duties' (Bloody Tenent, C. ixix.) Mr. Cotton replied, 'I know of no restraint at all that lieth upon the consciences of any in New England to come to church. * * Least of all do I know that any are constrained to pay church dues in New England. Sure I am none in our own town are constrained to pay any church dues at all. What they pay they give voluntarily, each one with his own hand, without any constraint at all but their own will, as the Lord directeth them' (Bl. Tenent Washed, 146). In his rejoinder, Williams says: 'For a freedom of not paying in his [Mr. Cotton's] town, *it is to their commendation, and God's praise*. Yet who can be ignorant of the assessments upon all in other towns,' etc. (Bl. Tenent yet more bloody, 216). It is not easy to reconcile Mr. Cotton's general denial with Winthrop's statement, (ii., 93), that some churches raised their ministers' maintenance by taxation, 'which was very offensive to some;' or with his account of the prosecution of 'one Briscoe of Watertown, who * * * being grieved * * * * because himself and others, who were no members, were taxed, wrote a book against it,' which he 'published under hand;' for which offence the court fined him £10, and 'one of the publishers' £2, in March, 1643.—not long before Roger Williams sailed for England (where he printed the Bloody Tenent).

Hooker (Survey, ii., 29, 32) regarding it the duty of 'Every one that is taught' to contribute, argues that such contribution should be enforced, not by the civil magistrate, but by the discipline of the church; 'In case any member shall fail in this free contribution, he sinnes in a breach of the knowne rule of the Gospell; it appertains to the Church, to see the Reformation of that evill.

After the passage of the law mentioned above as having been enacted by the General Court in 1638, the history of legislation in Massachusetts Bay Colony until 1660 is as follows: 11th November, 1647, the General Court provided that town rates might be laid for the purchase of a habitation for a preaching elder and his successors. Records, &c., vol. II., p. 217.

At a General Court begun August 22, 1654, it was ordered "that the County Court in euery shire shall, vpon information given them of any defect of any congregation or towneshipp wthin the shire, order and appointe w^t majnetenance shallbe allowed to the ministers of that place, and shall issue out warrants to the select men to assesse, and the counstable of the sajd toune to collect, the same, and to distrejne the sajd assessm^t vpon such as shall refuse to pay." Vol. IV., Pt. I., p. 199.

At a General Court held May 6, 1657, committees for different counties were appointed to examine into the truth of the complaint that there was great suffering in the families of "diuerse re'u'end ministers of Gods word wth in this jurisdicⁿon." Vol. IV., Pt. I., p. 286.

At a General Court, October 23, 1657, the returns of the several committees were ordered to be transmitted to the Courts of the Counties to which they belonged in order that wants that had appeared might be relieved. Vol. IV., Pt. I., p. 314.

At a General Court, May 30, 1660, it was ordered "that the County Courts in theire respective precincts doe dilligently & carefully attend the execution of such orders of this Court as concernes the majnetenance of the ministry, &c." * * "and that for the future, there may be no neglect hereof, president of each County Court shall duly from tjme to tjme give it in charge to the grand juries of

as of any other scandall.' And he makes it the duty of the deacon, if any member fail to perform this duty, to admonish, and in case he reform not, to 'follow the action against him * * * * and bring him to the censure of the church.' Ibid., 37." (1648).

theire respective courts to present all abuses & neglects of this kinde, & that wth all care & dilligence the same be redressed," &c. Vol. IV., Pt. I., p. 417.

Please glance at two or three steps, not yet mentioned, taken by the Puritans in Massachusetts Bay in their passage from the voluntary to the compulsory system of ministerial support. They are interesting, for they show minds in the process of change.

In the synod held at Cambridge in 1637, to consider matters connected with the Hutchinson-Wheelwright controversy, "There was a motion made * * by the governour," (Winthrop) "that whereas there was a difference among the churches about the maintenance of their ministers, it might be agreed what way was most agreeable to the rule of the gospel; but the elders did not like to deal in that lest it should be said, that this assembly was gathered for their private advantage."¹

The General Court, however, took hold of the matter and November 20, 1637 decided to send out the following letter :

"To the Elders & Brethren of the Church of God at
 ^ Whearas complaint hath bene made to this Courte
 that a different course is houlden in the churches of this
 iurisdiction for raising a treasury for maintenance of minis-
 ters, & whearvpon some minist's are not so comfortably
 pvided as were fitting,—

It is desired, that the severall churches will speedily
 inquire hearinto, & if neede bee to conferr together about
 it, & send some to advise wth this Courte at the next session
 thereof, that some order may bee taken hearin according to
 the rule of the gospole./

p Cūr. INC: NOWELL, Sec't. /"²

¹ History of New England, by John Winthrop. Vol. I., p. 288.

² Records, &c., vol. I., p. 216. A curious fragment has been preserved containing a record in the handwriting of Rev. John Fiske, sometime assistant preacher with Hugh Peters, pastor of the first church in Salem, of a church meeting held in Salem in 1637, in which this desire for an inquiry by the elders and brethren of the churches in Massachusetts Bay Colony appears to

As the result of the dissatisfaction in regard to the existing ways of maintaining ministers shown by the motion made in the synod and the inquiries sent to the elders by the General Court, the law mentioned above as passed in 1638 was enacted.

In September, 1644, the Commissioners of the United Colonies propounded to each General Court the following recommendation : "That those that are taught in the word in the seu'all plantaçons be called together, that euery man voluntaryl set downe what he is willing to allow to that end & use, and if any man refuse to pay a meete pporçon, that then hee be rated by authoryty in some just & equall

have been under consideration. The record is given in the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, vol. I., p. 39, and is as follows :—

"At a xx meeting" "Salem 1637" "A qu ppounded to ye xx, by ye desire of ye Magist of yis 'try.

What way or course is best to be taken of ye xx's for Mrs. mayntenance, & ye continuance & upholding of xx ordinances? R. ye xx hath taken it into yr 'sideration." Following is a modernized form of the record as given by Daniel Appleton White, in New England Congregationalism, &c., p. 25 :—

"Salem, 1637. At a Church Meeting. A question propounded to the Church by the desire of the Magistrates of this Country.

What way or course is best to be taken of the Churches, for ministers' maintenance, and the continuance and upholding of Church ordinances? R. The Church hath taken it into their consideration."

Our associate, Rev. Dr. Lucius R. Paige, in his History of Cambridge, pp. 253, 254, states that "There are still preserved two folio volumes, which may be styled Church Books, chiefly devoted to financial affairs, containing a particular account of receipts and disbursements by the Deacons, together with some historical notices. From these books something may be gleaned concerning the condition and work of the church." "The first entry in the Record proper is somewhat mutilated, what is supposed to be lost is here supplied, but enclosed in brackets. [An account] of the moneys by contri[butiou] upon the first day of [the week for] the supply of the wants of the Church of Christ and the needy people of Cambridge since the second day of the tenth month in the year of Christ 1638."

Not any of the money raised by contribution, as accounted for in these books, appears to have been used to pay the salaries of ministers. Is it not possible that these books, which were opened in the same year with the passage of the law compelling inhabitants of towns to help pay for the support of ministers, and within two or three months of the date of its passage, were brought into use in consequence of the change from the old way of support by voluntary contribution to compulsory maintenance which made the time a convenient one for starting new accounts in new books?

way, and if after this any man withhold or delay due payment the ciuill power to be exercised as in other just debts."¹

In a summary by Hubbard of the Platform of Discipline, adopted by the Synod in 1648, item No. 9 is as follows: "For the maintenance of the ministers of the church, all that are taught are to communicate to him that teacheth, in all good things; and in case of neglect, the magistrate ought to see that the ministry be duly provided for." (Hubbard's History in Colls. of the Mass'tts Hist. Soc., 2nd Ser., vol. 6, p. 539).²

In the statement of his reasons for the judgment given by him in the case of Giddings *vs.* Browne, referred to above, Mr. Justice Symonds gives the circumstances which seem to have been the immediate cause of one of the later enactments which has been before mentioned. "There is

This case
was tried at a
county court
at Boston, and
found against
the town.
yet," he says, "I conceive, a concluding
judgment (in the like case) in the generall
court, I referr to the record it selfe (but till an
understanding man, then an inhabitant of Wey-
mouth [as I am informed] mentioned it since
the passing of my sentence in the case in ques-
tion) it was out of my mind. I remember the
substance of it, and I suppose so doe many more.

That towne of Weymouth did generally agree to provide an house and meet accommodations for the use of the ministry, to remaine for posterity. The matter came into the generall court. Mrs. Richards stood out, and not many (if any more besides) and although the court did soe well like their ayme, or the thing (in it selfe considered) as may by and by appeare, yet it was judged in court that they could not justly impose payment upone one, or more persons, not consenting. One Dyer³ was then deputy of that towne, and did prosecute in

¹ Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, vol. 9, being vol. I. of Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England.

² See Ecclesiastical History of Mass'tts in Colls. of Mass'tts Hist. Soc., 1st Ser., vol. 10, p. 29.

³ Thomas Dyer was deputy from Weymouth, 1646-47-50-53-54, &c., A.

behalf of the towne : Yet herein the court gave a testimony of their good liking in respect of the townes intent, viz. in that way to provide for the ministry. And accordingly the law was framed, and enacted for the future, that very court. This provision was not to give away, but to remaine to posterity, and the like provision was for every towne in the country ; and that which a great part, if not the greater part, of Ipswich have desired and do still stand for.”¹

The law which it is here stated was made in consequence of the agitation of the Weymouth case is either that passed in 1647 or the one enacted in 1654.

Although by the law of 1638 it was made incumbent upon all citizens to pay their proportions of common civil and religious expenses, it will be noticed that it was not until 1654 that the General Court went so far as to supervise the action of towns, and to see to it that the salaries of ministers were suitable in amount.

Individuals did not fail to oppose the recommendation and adoption of compulsory taxation for the support of ministers.

Thus, we learn from a note in the margin of the record in which the recommendation of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, recited above, is given that (in 1644), “Mr. Browne desired further consideration about the 2 last clauses of this conclusion,”² that is to say, about the clauses which recommended rating “by authority” and compulsory collection of rates.

So, too, Mr. Briscoe of Watertown made a protest against compulsory payment. Winthrop, writing in 1642–3 (1–5), says : “The churches held a different course in raising the ministers’ maintenance. Some did it by way of taxation, which was very offensive to some. Amongst others, one Briscoe of Watertown, who had his barn burnt, as before mentioned, being grieved with that course in their

¹ Hutchinson Papers (Edition of the Prince Society), vol. II., p. 13.

² Records of the Colony of New Plymouth, vol. 9, p. 20.

town, the rather because himself and others, who were no members, were taxed, wrote a book against it, wherein, besides his arguments, which were naught, he cast reproach upon the elders and officers."¹

Hubbard had no patience with Briscoe. He says: "he that shall deny the exerting of the civil power to provide for the comfortable subsistence of them that preach the gospel, *fuste potius erudiendus quam argumento.*"²

It is noticeable that Winthrop could only say, in March, 1643 (new style) that "some" churches resorted to taxation to raise money for the support of ministers. His language suggests naturally the inference, that in several towns the voluntary system of maintenance was in vogue a number of years after the passage of the law of 1638.

Why did the men of Massachusetts Bay refrain from a compulsory collection of ministers' salaries for several years after coming to this country?

Was it merely because it was convenient to do so or were they guided in the matter by principle also?

Mr. Hubbard takes the former view. Referring undoubtedly to the action of the General Court in 1654, he says: "And whereas the plantations of New England had never as yet been acquainted with the way of paying tithes (which none of the reformed churches ever yet condemned as unlawful, although it was not looked upon as the most convenient for the towns and plantations of New England), for the support of the ministry in the several towns, it was now left to the power of every county court throughout the whole jurisdiction, to make sufficient provision for the maintenance of the ministry, in the respective towns of the colony, and to rectify any defect, upon complaint of any such, for want of means whereby comfortably to subsist."³

But Mr. Hubbard was probably mistaken in regard to this matter, as he has been shown to have been in many

¹ History of New England, by John Winthrop, vol. 2, p. 112.

² A General History of New England, by William Hubbard (Collections of the Mass'tts Hist. Soc., 2nd Ser., v. 6, p. 412). ³ Hubbard, p. 551.

other cases. Attention has again and again been called to the fact that whatever may have been the intentions of the earliest colonists of Massachusetts Bay before leaving England, and on the eve of their departure, as soon as they came to Salem and Charlestown they adopted the plans which were in vogue in the Plymouth Colony in forming their churches and in administering ecclesiastical affairs.

Edward Winslow says that some of the chief men of the plantations "advised with us," meaning the men at Plymouth "(coming over to be freed from the burthensome ceremonies then imposed in England) how they should do to fall upon a right platform of worship, and desire to that end since God had honored us to lay the foundation of the Commonwealth and settle a church in it, to show them whereupon our practice was grounded.

* * * * *

We accordingly showed them the primitive practice for our warrant, &c."¹

John Cotton acknowledges that some of the first comers to Massachusetts Bay might have helped "their theory by hearing and discerning their practice at Plymouth."²

Deacon Fuller of the Plymouth Church, while professionally engaged as a physician among the new comers to Massachusetts Bay, had conferences with those men who were in authority both at Salem and at Charlestown and with Rev. Mr. Warham of Mattapan (Dorchester) and others, about the proper forms of ecclesiastical organization, and while he and Mr. Warham differed in regard to the qualities which are requisite to make men eligible to membership in a church, he evidently found in Gov. Endicott and Gov. Winthrop men who were very appreciative of the ecclesiastical methods in use in Plymouth.

Whether the settlers in Massachusetts Bay took the constitution and methods of the church at Plymouth for a

¹ Winslow's Brief Narration in Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, p. 386. ² Cotton's "Way," &c., p. 10.

model or not, this much is certain, that after consultation of their leaders with men from the latter colony they reached the conclusion that the plans adopted in the new settlement, in the organization and maintenance of its church, were in accordance with the teachings of the New Testament.

It is unnecessary to treat this matter fully, because the statements of the earlier historians in regard to it, such as Bradford, Hubbard¹ and others, have been carefully weighed and the whole subject of the influence of the Plymouth church in moulding the constitution of the churches in Massachusetts Bay has been ably handled by our late associate, Dr. Young,² and by those living authorities in early Plymouth and Massachusetts history, our learned associates, Doctors Dexter³ and Deane.⁴

It is interesting to remark one of the details wherein the practice of some of the churches in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in regard to raising money for the support of the gospel differed from the procedure of the "ancient church" in New England, viz., that of the Mayflower church which had agreed with it in ecclesiastical matters. Thus, to meet the expenses of their purposes was raised in some of the churches by a regular weekly contribution taken in a service.

That these contributions were meant primarily for the support of the gospel, or some is a convenient way of expressing the necessities of the

¹ *History of New England*, pp. 17 and 26.

² *History of New England*, pp. 17 and 26.

³ *History of New England*, pp. 17 and 26.

⁴ *History of New England*, pp. 17 and 26.

⁵ *History of New England*, pp. 17 and 26.

⁶ *History of New England*, pp. 17 and 26.

poor,¹ in some of them a portion of the Sabbath contribution was used in affording compensation to ministers.

Lechford in his *Plaine Dealing* gives an account, which has become very familiar to students of the early ecclesiastical history of Massachusetts, of this contribution as it occurred in the order of services in the First Church in Boston. In describing the exercises in that church in the afternoon of the Sabbath, he says, when Baptism is ended “follows the contribution, one of the Deacons saying, Brethren of the Congregation, now there is time left for contribution, wherefore as God hath prospered you, so freely offer. Upon some extraordinary occasions, as building and repairing of churches or meeting-houses, or other necessities, the ministers presse a liberall contribution, with effectuall exhortations out of scripture. The magistrates and chiefe Gentlemen first, and then the Elders and all the congregation of men and most of them that are not

¹ Mr. Trumbull quotes from T. Welde's *In Answer to W. R. &c., 1644*, the following passage in a note to p. 49 of his edition of Lechford's *Plaine Dealing*: “This weekly contribution is properly intended for the poore, according to 1 Cor. 16. 1. Yet so as (if there be much given in) some churches doe (though others do not) appoint the overplus *towards* the ministers maintenance. 2. This is not given in by the people *according to their weekly gaines* [as Rathband had stated,] but as *God hath blessed them with an estate in the generall*. . . . 3. Nor is this dispensed to the Ministers (in those churches where any part of it is so given) though by the hands of the Deacons, yet not for proportion as they please, but by the Church, who usually, twice in the year or oftener, doe meeete to consult and determine of the summe to be allowed for that yeere to their ministers, and to raise it, either for the Churches treasurie or by a contribution to be then made on purpose.”—(Welde, &c., p. 59).

In an account which has been preserved of the order of Sabbath worship in the church made up of the persons who had withdrawn from the “ancient church” in Amsterdam, under John Smyth, the writers speak of the last act in the morning services as follows: “Then the I. speaker cōcludeth wth. prayer as he began with prayer; with an exhortation to cōtribution to the poore, wh. collection being made is also cōcluded with prayer.”—(Dexter's *Congregationalism in Literature, &c.*, p. 334).

The fact that the “poore” only are mentioned here as recipients of the money received in the Sunday contribution should be coupled with the following statement: “Smyth (*Life & Death, etc.*, 11.) declares—as a simple fact and not a boast—‘That I never received of them [his flock], all put together, the value of *fortie shillings!* to my knowledge since I came out of England: and of Mr. Helwys not the value of a penny.’”—(*Ibid.*, p. 323, note.)

of the Church, all single persons, widows, and women in suspense of their husbands, come up one after another one way, and bring their offerings to the Deacon at his seat, and give him a box of wood for the purpose, if it be money or papers; if it be any other charitable they set it ready to come before the Deacons, and so passe another way to their seats again. This contribution is of money, or papers, promising as much money: I have seene a faire gold cup with a cover, offered there by one, which is still used at the Communion. Which money, and goods the Deacons dispose towards the maintenance of the Ministers, and the poore of the Church, and the Churches occasions, without making account, ordinarily.⁷¹

The account of Lechford, although written a short time after the passage of the law of 1638, by which a limited compulsion was exerted as regards the payment of ministerial dues, undoubtedly describes what he had seen before the passage of that law² and the practice which had existed for several years in Boston.

It is to be noted that the men of Massachusetts Bay in adopting the church polity which had been in use in Amsterdam and Plymouth, and in generally conforming to it even in details, were guided by principle, and believed that they were copying the pattern which had been revealed in the New Testament as the will of God respecting the administration of the Church of Christ.

It is to be presumed that in making use of the voluntary system for the support of the ministry they proceeded in this spirit and equally with the brethren of Amsterdam and Plymouth, believed that in accepting this incident, as well as the other features of the ecclesiastical polity which they

⁷¹ Lechford's Plaine Dealing, &c., Mass'tts Hist. Soc's Colls., Ser. 3, vol. 3, p. 11. Ed. of J. Hammond Trumbull, p. 48.

Lechford arrived in Boston in the summer of 1638, and returned to England in August, 1641. (J. Hammond Trumbull's Introduction to Plaine Dealing, pp. XXIII., XXXV., and XXXVI., Boston, Wiggin and Lunt). His "To the reader" is dated Clements Inne, Jan. 17, 1641 (old style).

had introduced into the colony they were following the scriptural model. That is to say, the voluntary system of collecting ministers' dues, in use in the early days of the colony, was adopted and sustained, not merely because it was convenient, but in great measure from considerations of duty.

The question whether the institution of tithes is ordained of God as the divinely appointed plan for securing to ministers a maintenance under the dispensation of the Gospel, as we have seen in an earlier part of this paper, was under discussion in England at the time when the Pilgrims, then in Holland, were considering the project of coming to America. Increase Mather in "A Discourse Concerning the Maintenance Due to those That Preach the Gospel," etc., writing in 1706, stated that most of the "Reformed Divines" answered this question in the negative,¹ and instanced as writers who took this view such men as P. Martyr, Zanchy, Daneus, Rivet and Voetius. He gave the same answer to the question himself. But more radical views began to be held than those of the advanced writers of the latter part of the sixteenth and the earlier part of the seventeenth centuries. By the middle of the latter century they had culminated in the beliefs which found expression in the unreserved utterances of Milton in favor of the introduction of the system of unadulterated voluntaryism in respect to ministerial support.

Some of this author's most outspoken sentences have already been quoted.

A little later in the seventeenth century the "great dissenter," John Owen, whom Increase Mather speaks of as "that incomparable author,"² avowed similar sentiments and gave in his adhesion to the same system. His words are as follows: "We take it for granted that the *way* of ministerial maintenance is changed under the New Testa-

¹ Page 49 or 50. ² Some Remarks on a late Sermon preached at Boston in New England, by George Keith, M. A., Boston, 1702, p. 8.

ment; but that the *law of maintenance* is taken away, is the highest folly to imagine, it being so expressly asserted by our Savior himself and his apostles, **Luke X : 7**; **I. Cor. IX.** But here it is thought lies the disadvantage; that whereas the priests under the Old Testament had a *certain portion* which was *legally due to them*, and they might demand it as their own, it is now deferred to the *voluntary contribution* of them who have the benefit of their labor. But he is unworthy the name of a minister of the gospel who is not satisfied with what our Lord hath ordained in every kind. This way is the most honorable way, and that which casts the greatest respect upon them.

* * * * *

Our apostle tells us that our Lord hath ordained, that those who preach the gospel shall live on the gospel; and all obedience to his ordinances and institutions must be *voluntary*. If they will not do so, their best way is to leave *his service*, and take up with that which is—more honorable!¹

So much for the convictions and writings of reformers in England and on the continent of Europe. Evidently a change had come in the views of many who held that the system of tithes was the divinely ordained plan for the support of the ministry in the Christian church. First, preachers and theologians denied that tithes were imposed by the command of God under the new dispensation. Their successors denied that compulsory support of ministers was allowable under the teachings of the gospel. Not only did the little band of Pilgrim writers maintain such radical views; other English and Continental authors of the class of thinkers whom the Puritans of New England looked to especially for guidance and instruction were coming to accept similar conclusions. Many of the men who first came to Massachusetts Bay must have been cognizant of the advanced views respecting ministerial support

¹ An Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, &c., by John Owen, D.D. Revised, abridged, &c., by Edward Williams, D.D. Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1812, p. 310. This exposition was written in 1668-1684.

that were ripening in England at the time of the foundation of the colony, and some of them, it is probable, regarded them with sympathy, and were inclined, if partly for convenience, largely, too, from principle, to adopt the voluntary system for the payment of the salaries of ministers. Men who held such views soon found a powerful friend in a notable personage who before long became a resident in the colony, namely, the great Puritan divine and leader, John Cotton. The same year that he arrived in Boston we find Winthrop writing as follows in his journal: "After much deliberation and serious advice, the Lord directed the teacher, Mr. Cotton, to make it clear by the scripture, that the minister's maintenance, as well as all other charges of the church, should be defrayed out of a stock, or treasury, which was to be raised out of the weekly contribution; which accordingly was agreed upon."¹

The first work which Mr. Cotton wrote after coming to Massachusetts that related to the methods in use in New England respecting ecclesiastical polity, was dated: "25, 11 m. 1634." and entitled: "Questions and Answers upon Church Government, etc." In this work he suggested an order to be observed in worship, and made a place in it for a collection to be taken up "for the support of the ministry, the need of poor saints, and the furthering of all outward service of the church."²

From another passage in Winthrop's journal we learn that in 1639 "(3) 2.7 Mr. Cotton preaching out of the 8 of Kings, 8, taught, that when magistrates are forced to provide for the maintenance of ministers, etc., then the churches are in a declining condition. Then he showed, that the minister's maintenance should be by voluntary contribution, not by lands or revenues, or tithes, etc.; for these have always been accompanied with pride, contention, and sloth, etc."³

¹ History of New England, by John Winthrop. Vol. I., p. 144.

² Congregationalism in Literature, by H. M. Dexter, p. 423 and note.

³ History of New England, vol. I., p. 356.

Mr. Cotton earnestly advocated the use of the voluntary system in the payment of ministerial dues on moral grounds. He was, it needs not to be stated, a man of great influence in Massachusetts, and his opinion was taken here on all important questions and held in the highest estimation. The language of Hubbard does not seem to have been very extravagant when he said of him "that whatever he delivered in the pulpit was soon put into an Order of Court, if of a civil, or set up as a practice in the church, if of an ecclesiastical concernment."¹

Winthrop tells us that at a meeting of the Governor and Council, September 17, 1633, to consider about Mr. Cotton, it was even proposed "that (keeping a lecture) he should have some maintenance out of the treasury."² It was only upon "second thoughts" that "divers of the council did after refuse this contribution."

Mr. Cotton exerted a powerful influence in moulding the ecclesiastical institutions of the Bay Colony, and may properly be regarded as a representative of the views respecting such matters which were held at Plymouth, also. His influence began to be felt as soon as he came to Boston, three or four years after the arrival of the first settlers in the colony. His support, undoubtedly, strengthened greatly the party here which contended that it is a duty to raise the maintenance of ministers by voluntary contributions. It was not so effectual, however, in this as in most other ecclesiastical matters, for while the constitution of our churches and the ecclesiastical usages, generally speaking, which he was so important a factor in forming and establishing remained comparatively permanent, he found himself powerless to stem the tide which (excepting in Boston and some other places)³ set, determinedly, in an opposite

¹General History, &c., Colls. of the Mass'tts Hist. Soc., 2nd Ser., vol. V., p. 182.

²Hist. of New England, &c., vol. I., p. 133. See, also, Emerson's An historical sketch of the First Church in Boston, p. 19.

³"First Parish, 1639. There is a voluntary and quarterly contribution of the town to support the ministry. This was continued about 18 years."—(Annals

direction from the one he desired in respect to the principle of voluntaryism in the maintenance of the ministry.

The names of two other men who were not in full sympathy with the majority of the colonists and who were yet not without influence among them, will occur to all students of the history of Massachusetts as having been, while residents here, presumably, friends to the plan of supporting ministers by voluntary contributions, namely, Henry Vane¹ and Roger Williams.² The former was a staunch friend of religious and civil liberty, and in this country and afterwards in England said noble words and did glorious deeds in their defence. His views regarding the encouragement of the freedom of thought in religious matters were far in advance of those of Cotton. He argued and labored for an entire separation of Church and State. Surely, then, he must have heartily agreed with his friend in his convictions respecting the allowance of freedom of action in regard to contributions towards the support of the ministry.

We will conclude this report with one or two extracts from *The Hireling Ministry*, &c., by Roger Williams. This friend of absolute voluntaryism was the instructor and pupil of John Milton,³ and sympathized heartily with that reformer in his antipathy to a ministry that is supported by compulsion. In the State which he founded, religious freedom was made a corner stone⁴ and the support of the ministry was rendered voluntary.

of Salem, by Joseph B. Felt, 2nd ed., 1849, vol. II., p. 619.) See, also, Winthrop's Hist. of New England, vol. II., p. 112. "Cotton Mather in 1726 wrote:—'In some Churches the salary of the minister is raised by a voluntary contribution, especially in Populous Places, and where many strangers resort; but in others a Tax is levied for it.'—(Ratio Disciplinae, pp. 20–22," Foote's Annals of King's Chapel, vol. I., p. 449.

¹Orations and Essays, by Rev. J. L. Diman, D.D., pp. 127, 128. ²Ibid, p. 191.

³See letter of Roger Williams to John Winthrop of Connecticut, dated at Providence, July 12, 54 (so called), in memoir of Roger Williams, by James D. Knowles, p. 264.

⁴See covenant signed by early settlers of Providence, Records of the Colony of Rhode Island, p. 14. See, too, History of New England, &c., by Isaac Backus, new edition, edited by David Weston, vol. II., p. 518.

The words of Roger Williams are as follows : “ Secondly, as to the *Labourer* worthy of his *Reward*, I answer, we find no other *patterne*, in the *Testament* of *Christ Jesus*, but that both the *Converting* (or *Apostolicall Ministry*) and the *Feeding* (or *Pastorall Ministry*) did *freely* serve or minister, and yet were *freely* supported by the *Saints* and *Churches*, and that not in stinted *Wages*, *Tithes*, *Stipends*, *Sallaries*, &c. but with larger or lesser *supplies*, as the Hand of the *Lord* was more or lesse extended in his *weekly blessings* on them.”¹

“ And therefore I doe humbly conceive, that it is the *will* of the most *High*, and the expresse and absolute *Duty* of the *civill powers* to proclaim an absolute *freedom* in all the Nations, yea in all the world (were their power so large) that each *Towne*, and *Division* of people, yea, and *person*, may freely enjoy what *worship*, what *ministry*, what *maintenance* to afford them, their soul desireth.”²

For the Council.

SAMUEL S. GREEN.

¹ The *Hireling Ministry*, etc., by Roger Williams, London, 1652, p. 9. ² Ibid., p. 19.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society here-with submits his semi-annual report of receipts and disbursements, for the six months ending April 1, 1886.

At a meeting of the Council held in October last, on motion of the Treasurer, it was voted, that the Finance Committee and the Treasurer together be "a committee to consider whether any change is desirable in the method of keeping the accounts, or of making investments, or in the management and control of the funds."

The committee, after due consideration, decided that it was advisable to modify somewhat the plan of keeping the accounts and of making the semi-annual statements, and requested the Treasurer in preparing his semi-annual reports, to give, in addition to the condition of the several funds, a list of the securities owned by the Society, showing their par value and also the market value at the time of making the report. It was also decided to credit the income derived from the investments to one account, and at the close of each six months, ending April 1 and October 1, to transfer to each of the funds such a sum as the income should warrant.

This report is made up in accordance with the action of that committee, the expenditure on account of each fund being given, and the amount of income carried to each. The Finance Committee has directed the Treasurer to transfer to each fund, from the income of the investments, two and one-half per cent. on the amount of each fund as it stood October 20, 1886. After doing this there remains to the credit of income \$237.33.

By direction of the same Committee, the Treasurer has sold fifty-nine shares of stock of the Worcester and Nashua

Railroad Co., on which was realized a premium of \$1,049.12, which sum now stands to the credit of the Premium Account.

A detailed statement of the investments of the funds of the Society, showing the par and market value of the various stocks and bonds is given as a part of this report.

The total of the investments and cash on hand April 1, 1886, was \$97,656.57, divided among the several funds as follows :

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$39,932.82
The Collection and Research Fund,	17,921.49
The Bookbinding Fund,	6,410.70
The Publishing Fund,	19,161.40
The Isaac Davis Book Fund,	1,609.47
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	2,340.04
The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	1,165.90
The Salisbury Building Fund,.....	161.10
The Alden Fund,.....	1,030.04
The Tenney Fund,.....	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,	1,141.80
The George Chandler Fund,	495.67
Premium Account,.....	1,049.12
Income Account,.....	237.33
Total,	\$97,656.57

In addition to the amount carried to the Publishing Fund from the income on investments, the sum of \$151.50 from the sale of the "Lechford Note-book," and \$33.25 from the sale of the "Proceedings" has been added thereto.

To the Collection and Research Fund there has also been added \$55.30 from the sale of duplicate books.

Under the direction of the Finance Committee the Treasurer has transferred the income of the Tenney Fund for the past year as follows : To the Publishing Fund \$50.00 ; Bookbinding Fund \$75.00 ; and the Librarian's and General Fund \$128.10.

The great advantage of a fund given, as was this of Mr. Tenney's, without conditions as to the use of its income, has been most fully demonstrated ; it has from the first been of great practical benefit to the Society.

There is a small balance to the credit of the Salisbury Building Fund, but the expense incurred in new shelving for the manuscripts, maps and broadsides, will more than use up this balance. Hereafter, unless some provision is made for the continuance of a building fund, it will be necessary to charge the cost of repairs and improvements to the Librarian's and General Fund, which fund is already inadequate to meet the present demands upon it.

It will be seen by the list of investments, that the market value of the securities now owned by the Society, is \$106,973.57 or \$9,317.00 more than they stand on the books of the Treasurer.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the six months is as follows :

DR.

1885. October 20. Balance of cash as per last report,.....	\$11,579.80
1886. April 1. Received for interest and dividends to date,.....	2,484.58
" " Received for annual assessments to date,.....	45.00
" " Received from sale of "Lechford Note-book,".....	151.50
" " Received from sale of other publications,.....	38.25
" " Received from sale of duplicate volumes,.....	55.30
" " Received from sale of Worcester and Nashua R. R. stock,	5,000.00
" " Received from premium on same,.....	1,049.12
" " Received for subscriptions to "Lechford Note-book" fund,.....	250.00
" " Received bank tax refunded,.....	166.07
" " Received for sale of old heating apparatus,.....	25.00
 Total,	 \$21,689.62

CR.

By Salaries to April 1, 1886,.....	\$1,619.98
Expense of heating, including janitor's services,.....	410.00
Expense of repairs and improvements at hall,.....	79.06
Expense of publishing semi-annual "Proceedings,".....	608.99
Loans on real estate security,.....	4,250.00
Deposited in savings bank,.....	1,032.64
Expense of binding books and newspapers,.....	118.85
Expense of insurance,.....	45.00
Expense of printing "Lechford Note-book,".....	973.65
Books purchased,.....	128.66
Sundry incidental expenses,.....	141.74
 Total,	 \$ 0,398.66
Balance April 1, 1886,.....	 12,290.96
	 \$21,689.62

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, October 20, 1885,.....	\$40,137.80
Income to April 1, 1886,.....	1,003.45
Transferred from Tenney Fund.....	128.10
	<hr/>
	\$41,269.35
Paid for salaries,.....	\$839.90
Expense of heating hall,.....	300.00
Incidental expenses,.....	196.74
	<hr/>
	\$1,336.73
1886, April 1. Amount of Fund,.....	\$39,932.62

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance October 20, 1885,.....	\$18,099.68
Income to April 1, 1886,.....	452.49
From sale of books,.....	55.30
	<hr/>
	\$18,607.47
Paid part of salaries of Librarian and Assistants,.....	\$563.23
Paid for books, etc.,.....	122.75
	<hr/>
	\$685.98
1886, April 1. Amount of Fund,.....	\$17,921.49

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance October 20, 1885,.....	\$6,373.64
Income to April 1, 1886,.....	159.34
Transferred from Tenney Fund,.....	75.00
	<hr/>
	\$6,607.98
Expense of binding newspapers and periodicals,.....	\$197.28
1886, April 1. Amount of Fund,.....	\$6,410.70

The Publishing Fund.

Balance October 20, 1885,.....	\$19,641.75
Income to April 1, 1886,.....	488.54
Publications sold,.....	184.75
Transferred from Tenney Fund,.....	50.00
	<hr/>
	\$20,285.04
Paid for printing "Proceedings,".....	\$608.99
Paid for printing "Lechford Note-book,".....	494.65
	<hr/>
	\$1,103.64
1886, April 1. Amount of Fund,.....	\$19,181.40

The Isaac Davis Book Fund.

Balance October 20, 1885,.....	\$1,576.90
Income to April 1, 1886,.....	39.42
	<hr/>
	\$1,616.32
Paid for books,.....	6.85

1886, April 1. Amount of Fund,..... \$1,609.47

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance October 20, 1885,.....	\$2,282.97
Income to April 1, 1886,	57.07
	<hr/>

1886, April 1, Amount of Fund,..... \$2,340.04

The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance October 20, 1885,.....	\$1,177.50
Income to April 1, 1886,.....	29.43
	<hr/>
	\$1,206.93
Paid for local histories,.....	41.03

1886, April 1. Amount of Fund,..... \$1,165.90

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance October 20, 1885,.....	\$234.30
Income to April 1, 1886,.....	5.86
	<hr/>
	\$240.16
Paid for repairs on building,.....	79.06

1886, April 1. Balance of Fund, \$161.10

The Alden Fund.

Balance October 20, 1885,.....	\$1,151.26
Income to April 1, 1886,.....	28.78
	<hr/>
	\$1,180.04
Paid on account of cataloguing,.....	150.00

1886, April 1. Amount of Fund,..... \$1,030.04

The Tenney Fund.

Balance October 20, 1885,.....	\$5,125.00
Income to April 1, 1886,.....	128.10
	<hr/>
	\$5,253.10
Transferred to Publishing Fund,.....	350.00
Transferred to Bookbinding Fund.....	75.00
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,..	128.10
	<hr/>
	\$253.10

1886, April 1. Balance of Fund,..... \$5,000.00

The Hares Fund.

Balance October 20, 1885,.....	\$1,155.56
Income to April 1, 1886,.....	25.11
	<hr/>
	\$1,181.67
Paid for books,.....	16.66
	<hr/>
1886, April 1, Balance of Fund,.....	\$1,165.00

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance October 20, 1885,.....	\$569.36
Income to April 1, 1886,.....	12.73
	<hr/>
	\$582.12
Paid for books,.....	26.45
	<hr/>
1886, April 1, Amount of Fund,.....	\$425.67
	<hr/>
Total of the twelve Funds,.....	\$96,376.12
Balance to credit of Premium Account,.....	1,049.12
Balance to credit of Income Account,.....	27.25
	<hr/>
April 1, 1886, Total,.....	\$97,452.57

The following statement shows the investment of the various funds, giving the par and market value of the stocks and bonds April 1, 1886, also the amount of cash on hand.

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

	<i>Stocks.</i>	<i>Par Value.</i>	<i>Market Value.</i>
1. Central National Bank, Worcester,.....	\$ 600.00	\$846.00	
10. City National Bank, Worcester,.....	1,000.00	2,000.00	
19. Citizens' National Bank, Worcester,.....	1,000.00	1,350.00	
1. Boston National Bank, Boston,.....	400.00	480.00	
6. Fitchburg National Bank, Fitchburg,.....	600.00	900.00	
7. Massachusetts National Bank, Boston,.....	500.00	520.00	
2. National Bank of Commerce, Boston,.....	3,200.00	4,032.00	
6. National Bank of North America, Boston,.....	600.00	642.00	
7. North National Bank, Boston,.....	500.00	675.00	
14. Quinegonquid National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,400.00	2,684.00	
16. Franklin National Bank, Boston,.....	4,600.00	5,474.00	
17. Webster National Bank, Boston,.....	3,000.00	3,581.00	
31. Worcester National Bank, Worcester,.....	3,100.00	4,030.00	
30. Northern (N. H.) Railroad Co.,.....	3,000.00	3,740.00	
3. Worcester Gas Light Co.,.....	500.00	900.00	

Bonds, etc.

Boston & Albany R. R. bonds (7s),.....	7,000.00	8,380 00
Central Pacific R. R. bonds,.....	6,000.00	6,960.00
Eastern Railroad bonds,.....	1,000.00	1,280.00
Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R. bonds,.....	4,300.00	5,034.00
Worcester & Nashua R. R. (due 1887) bonds,.....	5,000.00	5,025.00
City of Chicago bond (due 1888),.....	1,000.00	1,040.00
Notes secured by mortgage of real estate,.....	32,500.00	32,500.00
Deposited in Worcester savings banks,.....	2,665.61	2,665.61
Cash on interest in national bank,.....	12,290.96	12,290.96
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$97,656.57	\$106,973.57

WORCESTER, April 14, 1886.

Respectfully submitted.

NATHANIEL PAINE, *Treasurer.*

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to April 1, 1886, and find the same to be correct and properly vouch'd; that the securities held by him are as stated and that the balance of cash, stated to be on hand, is accounted for.

CHARLES A. CHASE.
WILLIAM A. SMITH.

WORCESTER, April 15, 1886.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THE present report contains a statement of some of the more important work done in connection with the library since the last meeting, an acknowledgment of certain gifts of special value either in themselves or for what they suggest, the library statistics, a few references which may be pertinent to the occasion, and the usual list of donors and donations.

In the report of the Council of April 25, 1866, Mr. Paine says: "The Council would also suggest that at as early a date as possible, measures be taken to have classified, arranged and catalogued the very valuable manuscripts and autograph letters now in the library of this Society. There are many of great value and rarity; but at present they are not in an available condition for the purposes of study and reference." It is my privilege to announce that at the charge of the Alden Fund this work, so much and so long desired, has been practically accomplished by Miss Webb, of the library staff, under the more immediate supervision of Mr. Colton, assistant-librarian, and the general oversight of the library committee. Thus Mr. Paine has not only as treasurer dispensed the income of the fund so wisely given, but as a member of the library committee has assisted in carrying out the recommendation of the Council as penned by himself just twenty years ago. On the twenty-second day of March, 1884, the Council authorized the library committee to dispose of our perishable material, including Indian, Icelandic and Hawaiian apparel, etc., and on the eighth of January, 1886, its transfer was made to the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology,

after a few selections had been made by the Worcester Society of Antiquity. The imperishable articles having been placed in the south lobby, the northeast lobby was at once fitted with drawers and shelves, as recommended in the librarian's report of last April. It will hereafter be known as the Manuscript-room, although it also now contains the regular series of government publications which formerly occupied the northwest alcove in the main hall.

We have lately been appealed to for collections of early business account books and papers, by persons who not only desired to study early methods of business but to learn the prices for which goods were bought and sold before the condition of the markets was so faithfully reported in print. In alluding to this call we will make another which shall be so broad as to include every written thing which ought to be preserved. Even the single autograph letter may throw just the light needed by the searcher after facts. For instance, we have recently found among our Joseph Lancaster papers, controversial and otherwise, a short but kindly letter addressed to him by Thackeray which proves to be the only autograph we have of that distinguished novelist and satirist. From this letter it appears that while Thackeray was interested in some of Lancaster's educational work in England, he did not wholly approve what one of our members has quite recently called "the tomfoolery of the Lancasterian system."

It seems a peculiarly fitting time to make an earnest plea for the better preservation of city, town, parish, family and other manuscript records, and to consider what we can do to further that end. In our important mission of preserving American history we have occasionally received deposits subject to recall, a right which, it should be said, has seldom been exercised. May we not expect to become the temporary or permanent custodians of much valuable material when our willingness to receive such material—so often stated by Council and Librarian—is more generally known?

In this connection the following paragraphs from a letter addressed to Samuel F. Haven, Librarian, March 18, 1857, by Rev. Edward E. Hale, are suggestive: "Only think of this! Mr. Ridgway [Edward W.], who gave to Mr. Jennison the Hull Letter-book, tells me that there was a large quantity of those old papers in his attic; that his family was kindling fires, etc., with them, when he lighted on that book which he carried to Mr. Jennison, and that if he had supposed Mr. Jennison wished for more he could have had *all the rest*. But since that time the roof of that attic has been cleared out, and they *have all been destroyed*. Is not that a little too provoking?" To the lesson to be drawn from this quotation, I will add that not only the Hull Letter-book which was so useful in the preparation of the Diaries of Hull published in our Transactions, but also the valuable Note-book of Thomas Lechford which we issued last year, came from the Ridgway attic in Worcester. A new mission of preservation which has recently been taken up under our auspices, is that of repairing records not the property of the Society which have been injured by long or careless usage. Miss Webb has thus, during extra hours and at the expense of the town, prepared for re-binding several volumes of the early records of the town of Leicester, Massachusetts.

The accessions for six months ending the fifteenth instant have been as follows: By gift, twenty-one hundred and eleven books, seven thousand six hundred and four pamphlets, six bound and one hundred and ninety-nine volumes of unbound newspapers, ninety-five volumes of bound and a collection of unbound manuscripts, one hundred and twenty-nine framed and eighty unframed engravings and photographs, one hundred and six maps, thirty-one coins, eleven specimens of the currency of the rebellion, eighteen Indian and other relics and a collection of postage stamps. By exchange, two hundred and forty-eight books, nine hundred and thirty-eight pamphlets, five volumes of newspapers

and sixty-eight photographs and engravings. From the binder, one volume of newspaper's and one hundred and thirty-three volumes of magazines, making a total—with us seldom if ever exceeded—of twenty-four hundred and ninety-two books, eighty-five hundred and forty-two pamphlets, seven bound and two hundred and four unbound volumes of newspapers, one hundred and twenty-nine framed and one hundred and sixty-two unframed engravings and photographs, etc. The list includes two hundred and seventy-eight donors, of whom forty-one are members, one hundred and sixty-nine friends who are not members, and sixty-nine societies and institutions. It is interesting to note that the sources of increase number sixty-eight more than your librarian reported in October last.

With his Concord historical oration and the usual gifts from Washington, our President has sent Major Poore's Descriptive Catalogue of Government Publications, 1774—1881, which we hope may prove to be the labor-saving index so greatly needed. Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull's gift includes his "Origin and Early Progress of Indian Missions in New England,"—a rare and valuable pamphlet,—and the English edition (1715) of The Protestant Tutor, to be preserved with our imperfect copy of the Boston edition of 1685. In one of a series of four articles on Primers and Catechisms, prepared by Dr. Trumbull for the Sunday-School Times of 1883—and which should be separately printed—this Tutor of 1685 is called the earliest of that interesting family of early New England literature.

The continued activity of our widely separated membership is apparent from the valuable papers written by them for various societies and institutions. Two such contributions to the "Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science" have been received; one on "American Constitutions" by Hon. Horace Davis, a member since 1862; the other upon "The Narragansett Planters" by Edward Channing, Ph. D., who was recently

elected to membership. Judge Hamilton B. Staples has shown his continued interest in our Art collection by presenting a choice specimen of amateur photography. The subject is the house of Bishop Berkely during his residence in America, situated about four miles from Newport, Rhode Island; and the artist is Miss Emma Colman of Boston. It is quite certain that the camera of the amateur is to fill an important place in antiquarian, historical and genealogical societies as an aid to an exact knowledge of localities and monumental inscriptions. It has been noticed that the habit of giving to some special department, is apt to grow not only with our members but with others interested in the Society's welfare. At this time we especially need such a friend in each of the departments of Biography and Bibliography. We have received a few Spanish-American books for the Davis Alcove from markets both foreign and domestic, and have further increased the collection through our exchanges. It seems wise, at least for the present, to use the income of the Davis fund chiefly for the purchase of books relating to the Central American States. The Chandler, Haven, Thomas and Collection and Research funds have yielded fifteen, five, twenty-four and thirty-three volumes respectively. Vice-President Salisbury's gift includes the instructive volume which contains the touching and truthful tribute to our late lamented President. Mr. Robert N. Toppin has sent a set of his own publications, and Judge James V. Campbell has made the transfer from his library to ours of a fine copy of Jefferys's American Atlas of 1776. The gift of the Rev. Dr. Merriam includes not only two of his own historical and biographical productions but a large collection of periodicals of which we were in need. The results of Dr. Daniel G. Brinton's labors in the fruitful field of Archaeology, both as author and editor, he has been careful to gather and forward to the library. Mr. James F. Hunnewell has added to his gifts of "The Lands of Scott" and "The

Historical Monuments of France," "The Imperial Island; England's Chronicle in Stone," an exhaustive work which like those upon France and Scotland is based upon his own personal observations and study. It is a sketch of the historical monuments of England, and is chiefly illustrated from his own library.

We are glad at this time to acknowledge from Mrs. Ginery Twichell and Miss Theolotia L. Twichell the receipt of the collection of books, pamphlets, pictures, relics, etc., of which brief mention was made in the librarian's report of last April. The large and generous gift is in memory of Hon. Ginery Twichell, and each article received has been designated for all time by an engraved label prepared and presented for that purpose. The gift comprises in round numbers fifteen hundred books, forty-one hundred pamphlets, one hundred framed engravings and photographs, and ninety-five volumes of manuscripts. There is also a collection of relics among which may be named the Senatorial desk occupied from 1821 to 1851 by Hon. Thomas H. Benton. Attention is called to a fitting though unusual memorial edited by the late Dr. John Orne Green, a classmate of Hon. Stephen Salisbury, and sent to us by his son and namesake. It is entitled "The Parish Register of St. Anne's Church, Lowell, Mass., Rev. Theodore Edson, S.T.D., the first and only rector from March 7, 1824, to January 25, 1883."

Mrs. Penelope L. Canfield's gift is, as usual, historical material of value, purchased for presentation to the Society. Miss Ellen M. Coe, Librarian of the New York Free Circulating Library, has gathered for us a complete set of the reports relating to that interesting experiment. Whatever may be the outcome of the present effort to secure a Free Library for the people of the great metropolis, it seemed important to preserve this history of a private effort to popularize good reading. Messrs. Drew, Allis and Company's annual gift of a portion of the editions of their Newton,

Rochester and Worcester directories indicates large additions to our duplicate-room, and suggests a mention of our desire to exchange duplicate slips with the historical or other societies which collect such material. The publishers are to be commended for having incorporated into their directories numerous statistics which are of special interest to the genealogist and biographer. Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, jr., has added to our already large and valuable collection of portraits of the early governors, that of Governor Joseph Dudley. It is accompanied by "Letters of John, Lord Cutts, to Colonel Joseph Dudley, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Wight, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts, 1693-1700," which letters were edited by Mr. Winthrop. Mention should be made of a collection of the addresses, speeches, reports, etc., of Hon. George B. Loring, which has been gathered with great care and presented by him. It will not be out of place to urge each member of this society not only to follow such an example but to accompany the gift with a complete check-list of his works, that an intelligent and vigorous search may be made for missing titles. It is not impossible that in aid of such a movement a fund at once useful and unique might be offered for our acceptance.

In the miscellaneous collection received from the family of the late Dr. William Workman an orderly-book of the American Army at Cambridge for September and October, 1776, was brought to light. It finds many companion volumes in our new manuscript lobby where others of the same class will be most welcome. Mr. Alfred S. Roe, Principal of the Worcester High School, has placed in the library, eight of his photographic views of the exterior and interior of Antiquarian Hall; and has continued his efforts to complete our set of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*. We wish to acknowledge a finding list by Mr. J. N. Larned, Superintendent of the Young Men's Library of Buffalo, as it has been especially useful to us. Our collection of cata-

logues, old and new, is large but far from complete, and we shall be glad to make additions to it, particularly from all sections of America. We should be pleased to send in exchange our Catalogue of 1837, which contains many titles not easily found elsewhere and tells of the foundation upon which our library's superstructure rests. It may be noted that our duplicate New York Canal reports, some of them early and rare, have on exchange account been placed with Mr. Larned of the Buffalo library, who is making a special effort to gather everything touching the New York canal system.

Our Davis Alcove of Spanish-American literature is indebted to Mr. Joseph A. Donohoe of S^t. Francisco for Father Palou's "Noticias de la Nueva Calif.^ra," four volumes, octavo, San Francisco, 1874. One hundred copies of this important work were printed at the charge of Mr. Donohoe. The kindly intervention of our California associate, John T. Doyle, Esq., is duly appreciated. Through the Secretary and Director, Mr. M. Anagnos, we have received ten selected specimens from the Howe Memorial Press of the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind. The imprints range from 1872 to 1885, and among the authors are Swedenborg, Emerson, Freeman, Howe, Longfellow, Milton and Whittier. The gift is in recognition of liberal subscriptions made to the printing fund by members of this Society. The transfer of our duplicate Episcopal Church literature to the Registrar of the Diocese of Massachusetts has led its Bishop, Right Rev. Benjamin H. Paddock, D.D., to send over four hundred American diocesan journals to fill gaps in our collection of these historical documents. From the Worcester Free Public Library we have received with the semi-annual gift of newspapers about one hundred duplicate books. We have reciprocated by returning four hundred of that library's reports, some of which are now very difficult to obtain. Our ability to make such a return indicates the

generous extent to which our storehouse has been used for the preservation of material which would otherwise have been destroyed. We are indebted to the United States Department of the Interior not only for the customary supplies received as a depository, but for valuable aid received by way of exchange, in completing our sets of the Congressional Globe, Record, etc. Through the Superintendent of its Document Room, Mr. John G. Ames, and by the coöperation of the larger American libraries, we are in a fair way of having a satisfactory answer to the oft-repeated question, "what shall we do with our government duplicates?" Mr. Ames has successfully collected and re-distributed large quantities of the Globe and Record, thereby filling the small gaps in the large libraries, and many of the large gaps in the small ones. It will readily be seen that this plan can just as easily be carried out with the other classes of United States publications, and it is hoped that Mr. Ames will not only be empowered but encouraged to do so. As a national society, we have taken an early and active interest in the matter, having sent forward over two thousand volumes to be placed to our credit on this large exchange. To our President, Senator Hoar, for many years a member of the Library of Congress Committee, and to Councillor Samuel S. Green of the American Library Association Committee on the Distribution of Public Documents, we owe much for their intelligent and helpful interest in this important movement. We are glad to note the opening, since the October meeting of the American Library Association, of new avenues for the distribution of our duplicates and the receipt of desirable material therefor. Benevolent, educational, historical and scientific institutions have thus received either their own publications, or such as related to their special fields of labor. We have, for instance, supplied the Vermont Historical Society with files of early Vermont newspapers not before upon their shelves. It will be remembered that

the great collection of newspapers made by Henry Stevens, the father of our associate who lately died in London, was burnt with the Vermont State House in 1857.

Bearing in mind the Rev. Dr. Peabody's remark in the Council report of last October, that "the most authentic and instructive form of history is biography," a successful effort has been made to enrich that department by our exchanges. Practical sympathy with Hobart College in the loss of its library by fire, has been shown by a gift of books, chiefly theological and philological.

Reference was made at the last meeting to a "Scheme of a Lottery for the American Antiquarian Society," which was projected but not carried out. The reading of Mr. Henry M. Brooks's "Curiosities of the Old Lottery" has again brought the subject to mind and suggests the printing of our scheme at this time. The draft, which is in the handwriting of President Thomas and is not dated, is as follows :

SCHEME OF A LOTTERY FOR THE AMERICAN ANTIQ'N SOCIETY.

PRIZES.

1 of 25000 Dollars.				
1	5000	do.		
1	4000	do.		
1	3000	do.		
2	2000	do.		
6	1000	do.		
6	500	do.		

—

18

TICKETS.

1 of	the price of	4000	dollars,	entitled to	16000	chances.
1 of		3000	do.	do.	12000	do.
1 of		2000	do.	do.	8000	do.
5 of		1000	do.	each entitled to	4000	do.
10 of		500	do.	do.	2000	do.
15 of		250	do.	do.	1000	do.
20 of		150	do.	do.	600	do.
50 of		100	do.	do.	400	do.

100 of the price of	50 dollars, entitled to	200 chances.
200 of	25 do. do.	100 do.
500 of	10 do. do.	40 do.
3000 of	5 do. do.	20 do.
25000 of	1 do. do.	4 do.
97000 of 25 cents each or $\frac{1}{4}$ do.	do.	1 do.

125908

The *Chances*, not the Tickets, will be numbered for drawing, and all the Numbers will be put into the wheel before the drawing commences.

Every *Chance* will be entitled to the whole of the prize drawn against its number.

A Ticket of the price of 25 cents has one Chance and may draw the highest or one of the other prizes.

Every Ticket, the price of which exceeds 25 cents, will have as many Chances as there are quarters of a dollar in the price of the ticket. *i. e.* A ticket of the price of one Dollar will have four Chances—a ticket of the price of five dollars will have twenty chances—and so on.

The *numbering* of the Chances will begin on the Ticket of the highest price, *viz.*, that of 1000 dollars, and will embrace 16000 numbers or chances, beginning with No. 1, and ending with No. 16000.—The numbering will be continued on the ticket bearing the next highest price, *viz.*, that of 3000 dollars; the numbers on this ticket will begin with No. 16001, and end with No. 28000; and in this manner will the numbering of the Chances be continued through the whole of the Tickets.

As no Blanks will be put into the wheel, every number which is drawn must be a prize—therefore as the highest priced tickets have a number of Chances proportionable to their prices, they may each in that proportion draw several, or even all of the prizes.

This Scheme is calculated for a Lottery the Tickets for which will amount to 110,000 dollars. Four Chances to a dollar.—60,000 dollars to be drawn in prizes—30,000 for the benefit of the Institution,—and 10,000 allowed for managing the Lottery—expenses attending the selling and drawing—Losses, &c.

One Class only is proposed.

The Possessors of the highest priced Tickets may divide and subdivide them at pleasure, and part with any number of the Chances which they contain designating their numbers.

Our collection of steel, copper, zinc and other plates has been so useful that we are tempted to ask for more of them.

Properly labelled and dated they may become as useful historically as medals and coins, and for practical purposes more so. During the period of the United States Centennial Celebration, many calls were made upon us in the city of its publication for wood-cuts used by Barber in his Historical Collections of Massachusetts, but it was not until after the time of greatest interest had passed that they were discovered in private hands near Boston.

The framed portraits, engravings, etc., which have been collecting for the year past have been carefully hung in various vacant spaces in the hall. Others may be placed on the walls near the stairways leading to the main hall, which are still available for that purpose. In an emergency the gallery railings could be used. It is proper to remind our members and friends that the city of the Society's birth and habitation has no public art gallery, and that therefore the field is an open one.

A few sets of our Proceedings belonging to members may be made complete by the addition of the addresses of Goodwin, Holmes or Jenks, or the By-Laws of 1821, and they are greatly desired for that purpose. The plan mentioned of collecting and redistributing the documents of Nations and States may with equal force be urged upon institutions and municipalities.

The Rev. Dr. Hale referred at the last meeting to the Society's valuable collection of canes formerly owned by distinguished persons, a list of whose names perished in 1835 by the sudden death of the librarian! It reminded your present librarian to secure, if possible, a knowledge of what the various characters mean which are placed upon the ante-revolutionary title slips prepared by Dr. Thomas and Samuel Foster Haven, Jr., M.D. The only reference in the preface to the second edition of the History of Printing is as follows: "His plan [Thomas's] included the insertion of various points of information, such as the number of pages in each work when known, and the

indication of reprints by a sign." A careful study of the characters which are as follows: [* X † H §] does not thus far help to solve the mystery. They may indicate where the titles or books are to be found. It is barely possible that some of our earlier members may be able to throw light upon this dark subject.

Members and correspondents who have not found the title-page and index to Proceedings, volume two, new series, are informed that it is stitched to the last number of that volume. This would seem to be the safer way of distributing them, though with volumes one and three they were sent separately to avoid delaying the circulation of the Proceedings. A labor-saving plea is entered for more care in stating the dates of birth and death in all obituary or biographical notices. Librarians are well aware of the frequent omission of these all-important facts from notices otherwise full and accurate. An examination of the photographs of members—so far as we possess them—will show how attractive as well as biographically useful our treasurer intends to make them.

Among the works of national interest in the preparation of which we have continued to assist is Sabin's valuable Dictionary of Books relating to America, now in the editorial charge of Mr. Wilberforce Eames. It is important that this work upon which Mr. Joseph Sabin labored so industriously and for so many years, and the first of whose ninety numbers was issued as early as January, 1867, should not fail of completion for lack of bibliographical or pecuniary aid. Its more than nine thousand pages have been of great advantage to us as well as to the scholars who have frequented the library. Mr. Eames's separately printed pamphlet on the various editions of the Bay Psalm Book—which he has forwarded to the library—shows how carefully he has sought for light on the hidden things of bibliography. The reprinting of other similar lists from the body of the work is much to be desired. Such a list

for instance as that of the Mather publications would easily lead in fulness and accuracy all others yet prepared.

The list of American societies and institutions to which our Proceedings are sent having been carefully revised, it is suggested that the same course should be taken with that of our foreign corresponding societies. It is important that as complete sets as possible of our publications should be found in the leading library centres of Europe. As but six complete sets of the Transactions remain, the reprinting of Volume Two should be a subject for early consideration.

It is fortunate that we have upon our Council scholars who not only know the value of rare books but those also who have served as directors of free public libraries, and thus know the difference between the library of reference and that for circulation. That our library of American history may be more freely used by members and all others who will appreciate its privileges and obey its rules is, I am sure, the wish of all who have its increase and safety most at heart. We may well recall Prof. Winsor's words in his first report as librarian of Harvard University, when he said: "I try never to forget that the prime purpose of a book is to be much read: though it is equally true that we are under obligations to posterity to preserve books whose loss may be irreparable, and that the present generation cannot always decide correctly which books are the most precious." The connection of Mr. Winsor's thoughts and their application to our own library are alike clear and suggestive, and in closing this report I can do no better than to adopt them as my own.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

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WINSLOW, Hon. SAMUEL, Worcester.—His Inaugural Address as Mayor of Worcester, 1886.

WINTHROP, Mr. ROBERT C., JR., Boston.—"Letters of John Lord Cutts to Colonel Joseph Dudley, 1693-1700," edited by Mr. Winthrop; and a framed heliotype portrait of Governor Joseph Dudley.

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FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

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- BOSTON BOARD OF HEALTH.—Their Monthly Statements of Mortality, as issued.
- BOSTON, CITY OF.—Documents of the City for 1885, four volumes; and the Monthly Statistics of Mortality; a Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, containing the Town Records, 1742-1757.
- BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Their Bulletin, as issued.
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- CANADIAN INSTITUTE.—Their Proceedings, as issued.
- CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Constitution and By-Laws, 1886; and Hurlburt's Samuel de Champlain.
- CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Bulletin for 1885.
- CINCINNATI SOCIETY OF NATURAL HISTORY.—Their Journal, Vol. VIII., No. 4.
- COLUMBIA COLLEGE.—Two college pamphlets.
- DAVENPORT ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES.—“Elephant pipes and inscribed tablets in the museum.”
- DIPLOMATIC REVIEW, PROPRIETORS OF.—The first seven volumes of their Review.
- ENOCH PRATT FREE LIBRARY OF BALTIMORE.—The Finding List, second edition, 1886.
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- LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Their Bulletin, as issued.
- MARIETTA COLLEGE.—“The Fiftieth Anniversary of Marietta College,” and the Catalogue of 1885-86.
- MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—“Archives of Maryland. Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1636-1667.”
- MASSACHUSETTS, COMMONWEALTH OF.—“List of Persons whose names have been changed in Massachusetts, 1780-1883;” and ten volumes of State documents, 1884-86.
- MASSACHUSETTS HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.—Their Schedule of Prizes for 1886.
- MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY.—Their Twenty-first Annual Catalogue.
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NEBRASKA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Transactions and Reports, Volume I.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—Their Memorial Biographies, Vol. IV.; the Register, as issued; Water's Genealogical Gleanings, Vol. I., Pt. 1 and No. 10; and Proceedings at the Annual Meeting, January 6, 1886.

NEW HAMPSHIRE, STATE OF.—Seven documents of the State.

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Documents relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey, Volume IX.

NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.—Their Transactions, Vol. III. and Vol. V., Nos. 1-3.

NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—Their Nation, as issued.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Collections for the year 1880; and Jay's address on the Peace Negotiations of 1782 and 1783.

OLD COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Collections, number three; and Proceedings at the Annual Meeting, January 19, 1886.

PERKINS INSTITUTION AND MASSACHUSETTS SCHOOL FOR THE BLIND.—The Fifty-fourth Annual Report.

PROVIDENCE ATHENÆUM.—The Fiftieth Annual Report.

PUBLISHERS OF THE W T I., Worcester.—Their Magazine, as issued.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Proceedings, 1883-86; and Prof. Gammell's paper on "The Huguenots and the Edict of Nantes."

SEVENTH DAY ADVENT MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—Their "Signs of the Times," as issued; and one book.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.—The Annual Report for 1883.

SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE.—Their Bulletin, as issued.

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.—Their Proceedings, as issued.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA.—Their Historical Record for October, 1885.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.—Their Thirty-second Annual Report.

STATE PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Their Weekly, as issued.

TRAVELERS' INSURANCE COMPANY.—Their "Traveler's Record," as issued.

UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION.—Hough's Historical Sketches of the Universities and Colleges of the United States; the Annual Report, 1883-84; and the "Circulars of Information," as issued.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.—Sixty books; and fifty-eight pamphlets.

UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.—The Mineral Resources of the United States, 1883 and 1884.

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT.—One department report.

UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT.—Ray's "International Polar Expedition."

WOBURN BOARD OF TRADE.—An Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Town of Woburn.

WORCESTER CITY HOSPITAL, TRUSTEES OF.—The Fifteenth Annual Report.

WORCESTER COUNTY FREE INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL SCIENCE.—The Sixteenth Annual Catalogue.

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WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Ninety-seven books; two hundred and twenty-five pamphlets; and one hundred and thirty-eight files of newspapers.

WORCESTER NATIONAL BANK.—The New York Evening Post, in continuation.

YALE COLLEGE.—The Catalogue of Officers and Students, 1885-86.

ENGLISH SOURCES OF AMERICAN DIALECT.

BY THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

WE all listened with interest, a year ago, to the very important paper of our President, Senator Hoar, on the Obligations of New England to the English County of Kent. He therein stated that he could give but little time to the contributions of Kent to New England speech; and the facts that he gave on this point were taken so far as they went, from the *Provincial Dictionary* of Holloway, published in 1838. I have thought that it might interest the Society to follow up his contribution by a careful examination of two earlier dictionaries, since the gradual introduction of phrases is a subject into which the element of time of course enters largely; the farther back we go, the less the opportunity for the threads of local dialect to have become intertwined. For this purpose I have selected the *Provincial Glossary* of the well-known Captain Francis Grose, a book first published in 1787, and of which my copy is the second edition in 1790, containing some additions. It is a book that has attained a less painful eminence than this author's exceedingly disreputable *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, published seven years earlier, but it is, like that, a landmark in its way. Grose is immortalized in Burns's lines :

“Ken ye aught o' Captain Grose?
Igo and ago;
If he's amang his friends or foes?
Iram, coram, dago.”

And it is pleasant to see that Grose, himself, kindly pats upon the shoulder his then humble boon-companion,

announcing in his preface that he has "received some assistance from the well-known poems of my [his] ingenious friend, Mr. Burns the Ayrshire poet."

A supplement to Grose's Dictionary was published in 1814 by Samuel Pegge, as an appendix to the second edition of his "Anecdotes of the English Language, chiefly regarding the Local Dialect of London and its Environs; whence it will appear that the Natives of the Metropolis and its Vicinities have not corrupted the Language of their Ancestors." These are the two books which I have gone through, noting all words now used in any part of this country, so far as I know; with the local origin attributed to them by Grose or Pegge at the date of their two books.

I confess that the result has greatly surprised me, the proportion of Kentish and Southern words being so small as to be numerically insignificant, and the proportion of North-country words absolutely overwhelming. In both these books, it must be remembered, the general distinction made is of Northern and Southern, and it is only in the minority of cases that the separate county is named. I will read first the list of words, now in American use, attributed by Grose and Pegge to the North Country — and then the very short list attributed to Kent and to the South.

NORTH COUNTRY. (Grose.)

<i>Aye</i> (for ever and aye).	<i>Clucking hen.</i>
<i>Bale</i> (danger, whence bale- ful).	<i>To cotton.</i>
<i>Bidden</i> (invited).	<i>Crate</i> (a basket).
<i>To boot</i> (into the bargain).	<i>To cream</i> (as of beer).
<i>Brake</i> (fern).	<i>To crease</i> (to fold up).
<i>Buck</i> (buckwheat).	<i>Cricket</i> (a stool).
<i>Bumble-bee.</i>	<i>To crinkle</i> (to rumple).
<i>Char</i> (chore).	<i>To crumple</i> (ditto).
<i>To chomp</i> (to chew).	<i>To cuddle</i> (to huddle close).
	<i>Dowse in the chops</i> (a blow).

snow.
and to

)

.ie).

opport of hay-rick).
well-sweep).

J.
swill.

swillings (swill, hogwash).

swingle-tree (whiffle-tree).

Tab (a cap string).

Tether.

Toll-bar (turnpike gate).

To totter.

To trail.

Uncouth.

Unscathed.

Whittle (a knife).

Wizened (withered).

To yaape (to cry, lament, as chickens).

NORTH COUNTRY. (Pegge.)

Cute.

To favor (resemble).

Girdle.

Go in and abide it.

Heel-tap (of liquor).

To heir (an estate; used by Whittier).

Honey (term of endearment.)

<i>Loft.</i>	<i>To rue.</i>
<i>Mad</i> (angry).	<i>Shaft</i> (in mine).
<i>Muggy.</i>	<i>Shinney</i> (hockey).
<i>Near</i> (covetous).	<i>To shore up.</i>
<i>In a pei.</i>	<i>Smut</i> (in grain).
<i>Pips</i> (on cards).	<i>Sodden</i> (overboiled).
<i>Poorly</i> (in health).	<i>Stock</i> (cattle).
<i>Prime</i> (good).	<i>To swap.</i>
<i>Prong.</i>	<i>Throng</i> (crowd).
<i>To quail.</i>	<i>Tidy.</i>
<i>To rag</i> (to scold, to bully-rag; old New England).	<i>Timersome.</i>
<i>To reach</i> (to vomit).	<i>To toddle.</i>
<i>To reckon</i> (to suppose).	<i>To thwack.</i>
<i>To run a rig upon.</i>	<i>Weir</i> (dam).

KENT. (Grose).

<i>To bolt</i> (food). (Kent and Sussex).	<i>Coort</i> (for cart—Marble-head).
<i>By Golls</i> (oath much used among Whitstable fishermen).	<i>Dat dare</i> (not N. E.).
	<i>Plum</i> (very—plum pleasant).
	<i>To skid</i> (a wheel).

(Pegge.)

<i>Gumption.</i>	<i>A nation many</i> (Kent, Norfolk, Suffolk).
<i>May bug.</i>	

SOUTH. (Grose.)

<i>Banging</i> (large).	<i>Rising</i> (yeast).
<i>Coke.</i>	<i>Spick and span new</i> (the head of a spear being the <i>spike</i> , and the handle the <i>span</i>).
<i>Flash</i> (supply of water—whence <i>flash-board</i>).	
<i>Heft</i> (weight).	<i>To squirm.</i>
<i>Hunch</i> (of bread).	
<i>Lady-Bird or lady-bug</i> (called in North, <i>lady-cow</i>).	

In making these lists I have tried to be strictly impartial, and not to be tempted to make out a case on either side. Supposing them fairly enough taken, we have in all 109 words now used in America that were, in the beginning of this century, accounted in England as provincial and were accredited to the North of England; against nine accredited to Kent, and nine to the South of England, making eighteen in all. The numerical disparity is enormous, and yet it must undoubtedly be admitted that the shorter list includes some of our most distinctive New England words; as *gumption*, *a nation many*, *heft*, *By Goll's*, the very local *coort*, and *lady-bird* or *lady-bug*, both of which forms are familiar among ourselves to the distinct exclusion of the North of England *lady-cow*. On the other hand two phrases out of the eighteen belong distinctly to the South and West, not New England, *dare* being a simple defect of utterance, but *plum* in the sense of complete, being a very distinct South-western phrase, with which Miss Murfree's works have made us familiar. And the longer list includes a large number of words that are local in New England; some of these being *char*, *flake*, *hames*, *staddle*, *swap*, *swope*, *cute*, *snad* and *whittle*. On the whole, the vast balance of numbers seems to me an indication, so far as it goes, that the strain of our New England ancestry came more largely from the North of England than from Kent.

But to show that all such inferences have but a limited value and that our American dialect has many mingled threads of descent, I will add these remaining words, which may be claimed as American, as given in Grose's and Pegge's vocabulary — with the part of England whence they came, wherever this is indicated.

MISCELLANEOUS. (Grose.)

Aftermath. North and South.

Cade-lamb (pet-lamb). Norfolk and Suffolk, also in Rhode Island.

Crib (corn-crib). North and South.

Glum. Norfolk.

To haul. Gloucester.

Job. Norfolk.

Jounce. Norfolk.

Lawful case! (exclamation). Derbyshire.

Muck. Lincolnshire.

Noonings. Norfolk.

Othergues (otherguise). Common.

Pelt. North and South.

Prinked (dressed). Exmouth.

To rough (trump). Various.

Rouzabout (restless person—roustabout). West.

Shackling (a shabby, rambling fellow, living at Shack).
Norfolk.

Sill (of door). Various.

Snack (morsel). Various.

Stark (mad, from German *stark*). Common.

Tiny.

Tole (to entice). Berkshire.

Tramp (beggar). Sussex.

Tussle (struggle). North and South.

All in a twitter.

To wilt. South and West.

Windrow. Norfolk and Suffolk.

MISCELLANEOUS. (Pegge.)

To aim (to do something).

Batch (of bread).

Brand-new (in Lancaster *brand-span-new*).

Burly (thick, clumsy). Lancaster.

Butter-fingered.

Deft (clever, skilful).

Flapjack (a turnover, pasty).

Gable-end. General.

To guess so. Derbyshire.

Hale (strong, healthy).

Helve. Derbyshire.

To heed.

Horseblock. Lancashire.

Quandary. Various.

Ramshackle Hampshire.

To scotch (a wheel). Lancashire.

Sleepers (beams of a floor).

Spare (thin).

It must always be remembered that one of these glossaries dates back seventy-two years and the other nearly a hundred; both belonging to a period when railroads were not, and when the different parts of England were more detached for social purposes than London and Edinburgh are now. Since then these dialects have been so intermingled by contact that it surprises us to hear that such words as *slim* and *gawky* were ever regarded as local. It is yet more astonishing to find in these old lists words that are usually regarded as recent London slang — thus the *oo-too* of aestheticism, which Grose reports as used in the North of England in 1790, being “used absolutely, for very well, or good.” Another such phrase is the word *safe* as one hears it in London to-day, and as it was also heard in Cumberland in Grose’s time, in the sense of *certain*. “He is safe enough for being hanged” is Grose’s illustration; but I was out in a boat on the Thames with a young Londoner and his family, eight years ago, when he impetuously called out to his wife, “My dear, if you let those boys sit there, they are safe to be overboard in five minutes.” Sometimes we come upon phrases in these old glossaries too poetic to be forgotten, as where the afternoon in the North of England was called *undern*, that is undernoon, or where in Gloucester the openings left in steeples and towers for the admission of light were called *dream-holes*, as if wandering dreams drifted through them. In other cases we find grotesque confusions of thought such as

now come to us only through the medium of the kitchen. *Un* is defined as *him* by Grose, who adds that this is "particularly [in] Hampshire, where everything is masculine except a boar-cat, which is always called *she*." In reading this I was reminded of certain handmaidens in my own household, who, after rejoicing all winter in the supposed masculinity of a favorite cat and the consequent freedom from all fears of an increase of family, came to me with the indignant announcement, the other day, "He's got a litter of kittens, Sir."

If the result of this inquiry into the origin of our dialect is not just what was expected, it must be said that it does not in the least impair the value of our President's argument as to the debt of New England and America to the Kentish institutions. So complex and difficult are all matters of local derivation that it is no uncommon thing in history for the evidence of language to point one way and that of institutions and habits another. So far as these two early glossaries are concerned, their analysis would seem to show that the similarity of character which has been so often pointed out between New Englanders and Scotchmen is to be traced in language as well—for a large part of these North of England phrases border closely on the Lowland Scotch of Scott and Burns. It is a curious fact that the British visitors to this country who have most readily comprehended our character and ways have repeatedly been Scotchmen—among whom are conspicuous George Combe in the last generation and Professor Bryce and Sir George Campbell in the present. In many respects, certainly, we seem more like Scotchmen than Kentishmen. Nor is this in any respect a phrase of discouragement. Even Dr. Johnson admitted that much might be made out of a Scotchman if he could only be caught young; and as most of these present to-day were caught in America at as early a period of their age as it is possible to catch any one, there is certainly hope for all of us.

VOL. IV.

NEW SERIES.

PART 3.

PROCEEDINGS

Moraine Davis
OF THE

American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN WORCESTER,

OCTOBER 21, 1886.



Worcester:

PRESS OF CHARLES HAMILTON,

311 MAIN STREET.

1887.

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PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1886, AT THE HALL OF THE SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

THE President, the Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL.D., in the chair.

The following members were present (the names being arranged in order of seniority of membership) : George E. Ellis, Edward E. Hale, Charles Deane, George F. Hoar, William S. Barton, Andrew P. Peabody, George Chandler, Nathaniel Paine, Joseph Sargent, Stephen Salisbury, P. Emory Aldrich, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, George S. Paine, William A. Smith, Francis H. Dewey, James F. Hunnewell, John D. Washburn, Ben Perley Poore, Edward H. Hall, Albert H. Hoyt, Reuben A. Guild, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Lucius R. Paige, Franklin B. Dexter, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Edward I. Thomas, Horatio Rogers, Frederick W. Putnam, Solomon Lincoln, Andrew McF. Davis, J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden, Ebenezer Cutler, Reuben Colton, William W. Rice, Henry H. Edes, Grindall Reynolds, Frederick J. Kingsbury, George E. Francis.

On motion of Colonel SOLOMON LINCOLN the reading of the records of the last meeting was dispensed with and the record declared approved.

The Recording Secretary reported from the Council their recommendation of the following named gentlemen for membership in the Society :

Mr. LUCIEN CARR, of Cambridge.

FRANK PALMER GOULDING, Esq., of Worcester.

Each of these gentlemen was declared elected, a separate ballot having been taken on each name.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., read a report which had been drawn up by him and adopted by the Council as a part of their report to the Society, NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Treasurer, presented his report in print, and EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq., Librarian, read his report,—all the above together constituting the report of the Council.

Col. JOHN D. WASHBURN, referring to that part of the report of the Council which announced a large gift of money to the Society, made the following motion, which was unanimously adopted :

That the Society accept with grateful acknowledgment the gift of five thousand dollars made by their second Vice-President, STEPHEN SALISBURY, Esq., as an addition to the Salisbury Building Fund, reminded by this generous act of the unnumbered benefits conferred on the Society by his honored father, which have identified his name with its welfare and prosperity, and made for him a precious and enduring memory.

On motion of the same gentleman the Report of the Council was referred to the Committee of Publication.

JUSTIN WINSOR, Esq., in seconding the motion for reference, said that the suggestion of the Librarian as to the preservation of newspapers brought to mind a matter of great importance. He had been informed that so much clay is used in the manufacture of paper at the present day that their preservation for a century is extremely doubtful. He thought that it might be advantageous for the Society to make some arrangements with the publishers of the leading journals for the printing of a few copies of each issue on material that could be preserved.

Mr. HALE said that in connection with the Library and the report upon it, he wished again to call attention to the invaluable work of our associate, Mr. BEN: PERLEY POORE, in the preparation of the wonderful descriptive catalogue of government publications. This masterly index was fitly

alluded to in the Librarian's Report of last April, but Mr. HALE said that it seemed to him that the literary journals of the country had hardly paid sufficient attention to it. In truth, it multiplies manifold the value of any collection of public documents, whether large or small,—and as there is in the world no complete collection of our documents, the value of such a catalogue is all the greater. Mr. POORE says that he has been fettered by the failure of the government to give him the proper assistance, and he seems to apprehend that very many errors will be found in his work. Many errors there must be in a book involving so many details unless, by good luck, it be made by archangels. But Mr. HALE felt bound to say that having used it since its publication, perhaps more than any other man, in connection with his work on the Stevens collection of Franklin papers, he had yet to discover the least omission or mistake.

Hon. Mr. HOAR, in confirming Mr. HALE's remarks, called attention to the important literary work done by Mr. POORE in his collection of the American Constitutions and Charters. This work has been done very thoroughly and contains a mass of historical and political information much of which could not be obtained elsewhere but by a visit to the capitals of the respective states.

Dr. ELLIS said :

A suggestion has come to my mind while I have been listening with much satisfaction to the admirable paper in which Dr. DEANE has so thoroughly and successfully met and answered the slanderous and false charges made against Massachusetts in the Senate of the United States, as having originally engaged in a brisk and profitable slave traffic, and after the Emancipation Act having sold her slaves to the South. The suggestion came in the form of a question whether the repelling evidence of facts which Dr. DEANE has presented as referring to Massachusetts was equally applicable to all New England. For as our associate has

said, on time and occasion Massachusetts was held to stand for New England. Besides the direct traffic in slaves there was a commerce closely connected with it, in the article known as "New England Rum," which was manufactured in large quantities by distilleries in Boston, Providence and Newport. I know nothing of the relative amounts in the business in each of those places, but I have received an impression that Newport profited very largely by its distilleries, the products of which were turned to account in the slave-trade on the African coast. Miss E. P. Peabody, a devoted and confidential friend of Dr. Channing, in her "Reminiscences" of him (pp. 360, 361), referring to the reflections cast upon him by Mr. Garrison, writes: "In the course of the controversy he was assailed with the charge of living in luxury on the proceeds of rum-selling and slave-trading which were charged on his uncle and father-in-law." Dr. Channing, in 1814, had married his cousin, daughter of a rich merchant in Newport. Miss Peabody writes that she "was extremely indignant at this brutal attack, and wrote to him to get his denial of the facts." He replied, "I am willing to answer your question, because it affects the reputation of those who have gone. I remember that forty years ago my wife's father owned a distillery, of which he sold the product to those who wanted it, without asking questions about the use, which was then universal. I learn from one now living, and who knows more of the business then done by Mr. Gibbs than any other person, that now and then rum was sold to a firm supposed to be engaged in the slave-trade just as it was sold to other people. This, so far as I can learn, is the ground of the charge referred to in your letter. I know no other. The distillery was a very trifling item in Mr. G.'s vast concerns. The whole profit from it was a drop of the bucket compared with what he gained from a commerce spread over the globe, and the share of profit from selling to slave-dealers a mere nothing. I have paid

the debt many times, by my labors in the cause of slavery. [Written in 1838.] Such charges would make me smile, if they did not indicate unprincipled malice. For the sake of giving me a stab, a man is dragged from his grave, who died thirty-five years ago," etc.

I would ask Dr. DEANE if the exculpatory facts and the denials which he has advanced as relating to Massachusetts, especially as to selling emancipated slaves, are equally applicable to all New England, as sometimes represented by the Bay State?

Dr. R. A. GUILD, in confirmation of the remark that Rhode Island was at one time engaged in the slave-trade, alluded to the diary of the late Thomas Robbins, D.D., of Hartford, the first volume of which, covering a period of thirty-one years, from 1796 to 1825, has recently been printed for private distribution at the expense of the family. In 1799 he visited his relatives in Bristol and dined with the husband of one of his cousins, Capt. James D'Wolf, an enterprising tea merchant, whose immense fortune, however, as the editor states in a foot-note, was largely due to the African slave-trade, which he followed until 1808, when it was prohibited by law. Dr. Robbins speaks of the splendor of the house and furniture, alluding to a "set of chinaware which cost two hundred and fifty dollars in Canton." On another visit, made in 1801, he "dined at Capt. D'Wolf's on a West India turtle,—the richest entertainment I have ever been at."

Mr. BEN: PERLEY POORE said, substantially, that the interesting statements concerning the early slave-trade, reminded him of the last cargo of slaves imported into the United States. During the administration of Franklin Pierce, one of the most indefatigable lobbyists at the capitol was a stout, middle-aged gentleman, known as Captain Corrie. He was prosecuting a claim for the military services of an association of South Carolina gentlemen, which had a shooting-club-house on an island off the coast

of South Carolina, and which had, during the war with Great Britain, performed patrol service, for which pay was claimed. Jacob did not serve more faithfully for Rachel than Captain Corrie served his relatives and friends in this wearisome campaign. The Buchanan administration came into power, and Southern influences were predominant. Then it was that Captain Corrie succeeded, and the money obtained from the Treasury was invested in a beautifully fitted-up yacht called the "Wanderer." It could hardly be suspected that a craft so expensively ornamented and victualled should be devoted to the befouling traffic of the middle passage. But Captain Rynders, a pot-house politician, then Marshal of the city of New York, was informed that the "Wanderer" was about to engage in the slave-trade, and he took possession of her. Captain Corrie was indignant, and the Marshal and his deputies, after enjoying his good cheer, felt a sort of sheepish mortification at having taken her in hand with such a rude suspicion. The New York newspapers were indignant over the detention of a craft on which editors and reporters had been generously entertained, and the Treasury officials at Washington ordering her release, she sailed away with flying colors and the good wishes of the United States officials, who, while she was under doubt, had feasted from her sumptuous larder.

A few months later—it was, I think, in December, 1858,—mysterious statements were made in the Southern journals about the re-appearance of the "Wanderer" at Jeykl Island, near Brunswick, Georgia, where maugre her varnish and gilding, her French cooking, and her Kentucky whiskey, she had successfully landed three hundred and fifty slaves. She hailed from St. Helena, and was without regular papers, as there was no American consul there, but she had informal papers from native officials without any seal attached.¹ The United States Marshal of Georgia made

¹The "Wanderer" was subsequently captured, taken to Boston and condemned. Her mainmast now serves as a flag-staff in Union Park.

a feeble attempt to take possession of the negroes thus landed, but the federal authority at the South was then on the wane, and public opinion was against him. The negroes,—men, women and children,—were sent by railroad, in small squads, into the interior of Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. At that time able-bodied male slaves were sold at auction at from \$1,600 to \$1,700, and the newly-imported Africans were disposed of at about one-half of the trade price. The obtaining of labor at this low rate, which would in a few years double in value, was intended as an argument in favor of the re-opening of the slave-trade.

Mr. HAYNES remarked that probably the underhand pursuit of the slave-trade was not confined to any particular New England town. It was a common tradition in Portland, Maine, that the wealth of one of the prominent families of that city was derived from this source.

The Society then proceeded to the choice of a President, by ballot, which resulted in the unanimous choice of Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL.D., who accepted the office.

A committee of which Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., was chairman was appointed to nominate candidates for the other offices to be filled by election. That committee reported the following nominations :

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT, LL.D., of Washington, D. C.
STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., of Worcester.

Secretary of Foreign Correspondence:

Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., of Hartford, Ct.

Secretary of Domestic Correspondence:

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.

Recording Secretary:

Hon. JOHN D. WASHBURN, LL.B., of Worcester.

Treasurer:

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

All of the above officers being *ex-officio* members of the ~~Council~~.

And the following Councillors :

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.

JOSEPH SARGENT, M.D., of Worcester.

Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., of Boston.

Hon. P. EMORY ALDRICH, LL.D., of Worcester.

Rev. EGBERT C. SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.

SAMUEL S. GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.

Rev. ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., of Cambridge.

CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

Hon. EDWARD L. DAVIS, of Worcester.

Prof. FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, of New Haven.

Committee of Publication:

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

Auditors:

CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

WILLIAM A. SMITH, A.B., of Worcester.

The report of the committee was accepted and the gentlemen named therein were elected by ballot to the respective offices.

While the committee of nomination were out, Mr. NATHANIEL PAINE called the attention of the Society to a valuable addition lately made to the collection of MS. Revolutionary Orderly Books. A volume containing orders from the Headquarters at Roxbury and Cambridge from July 29, 1775, to January 12, 1776, had been presented by William

A. Banister of New York, but temporarily residing in Worcester. Mr. Banister is unable to say with certainty who was the original owner of the volume, but thinks that it was his grandfather, Col. Seth Banister of Brookfield, Mass. Col. Banister at the time of the Shays insurrection in Massachusetts served as a lieutenant in a company which came from Brookfield to Worcester to aid in the defence of the courts. The period from August 25, 1775, to January 12, 1776, was not covered by any of the orderly books heretofore in the possession of the Society. The volume also partially fills the gap made by the withdrawal of the Col. William Henshaw orderly books. These volumes, which covered most of the period from October, 1775, to August 25, 1776, were claimed by a descendant of Col. Henshaw, and by vote of the Council were given up. Within the past year another orderly book has been added to our collection, which contains orders between September 6 and October 8, 1775.

The Society's collection of MS. Orderly Books is a large one and has great value as an aid to historical students. In the report of the Council for April, 1881, which he had prepared, he called attention to this collection and alluded to a volume lately presented, containing orders of Col. Jonathan Bagley's regiment. The donor of the volume stated that Col. Bagley was in command of a Connecticut regiment, and it was so stated in that report. From information obtained since Mr. Paine is satisfied this was a mistake and that Col. Bagley was of the Massachusetts troops and not of those of Connecticut, and he took this occasion to make the correction.

STEPHEN SALISBURY, Esq., presented and read a paper on "The Antiquity of the Ruins of Yucatan," which had been prepared by Mr. Edward H. Thompson, the Consul of the United States in Yucatan. The thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Thompson, and the paper referred to the Committee of Publication, on motion of Prof. PUTNAM,

who expressed the hope that the necessity of making deep excavations would be urged upon Mr. Thompson.

Mr. HALE gave some account of the great collection of Franklin papers, formerly the property of W. Temple Franklin, lately purchased from Mr. Henry Stevens by the Government of the United States. He had studied these papers at Washington and he called attention to the additional value which they give to the great collection of letters to Franklin in the possession of the American Philosophical Society. It is very much to be desired that these two important collections might be preserved together.

Mr HALE said that he thought sufficient importance had not been attached to the two visits made by Franklin to France in 1767 and 1769. It is now evident that to the very close friendship which he then formed with the School of the French Economists was due the cordiality of his introduction in Paris, when he arrived there in 1776. His reception was not so much due, as it would seem, to his reputation as a natural philosopher as it was to his cordial intimacy with Turgot, Dupont, Dubourg, and the Marquis de Mirabeau, who was the great patron of the Economists. Mr. HALE read the following letter, never published until now, as one among many illustrations of this intimacy; Dupont, who afterwards visited this country, was one of the "pillars" of the new School of Economists:—

"LONDON, October 2nd, 1770.

DEAR SIR,—I received with great Pleasure the Assurance of your kind Remembrance of me, and the Continuance of your Goodwill towards me, in your Letter by M. le Comte Chreptowitz. . . . I should have been happy to have rendered him every Civility and Mark of Respect in my Power (as the friend of those I so much Respect and Honor) if he had given me the opportunity. But he did not let me see him.

Accept my sincere Acknowledgements and Thanks for the valuable Present you made me of your excellent Work

on the Commerce of the India Company, which I have perused with much Pleasure and Instruction. It bears throughout the Stamp of your Masterly Hand, in Method, Perspicuity, and Force of Argument. The honorable Mention you have made in it of your Friend is extremely obliging. I was already too much in your Debt for Favours of that kind.

I purpose returning to America in the ensuing Summer, if our Disputes should be adjusted, as I hope they will be in the next session of Parliament. Would to God I could take with me Messrs. Du Pont, Du Bourg, and some other French Friends with their good Ladies! I might then, by mixing them with my Friends in Philadelphia, form a little happy Society that would prevent my ever wishing again to visit Europe.

With great and sincere Esteem and Respect, I am,
Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN."

The intimacy thus formed between Franklin and the Economists proved of the greatest importance afterwards. It is interesting to observe that Adam Smith was but a few months before him in forming the same acquaintance, to which, indeed, the English-speaking world owes "The Wealth of Nations."

Prof. FREDERICK W. PUTNAM gave a brief account of the progress of excavation and of recent discoveries in the Indian mounds of Ohio, for which the thanks of the Society were voted to him and a copy of his remarks requested for publication.

The meeting was then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council of the American Antiquarian Society now present their semi-annual report. The reports of the Treasurer and of the Librarian will be submitted by those officers respectively as part of the report of the Council. They will show the continued prosperity of the Society so far as the departments which they represent will indicate it. The Librarian will exhibit the needs for additional funds to supply deficiencies, and to keep abreast with the demands upon the library.

It is pleasant to notice that at a meeting of the Council a few weeks ago the members were cheered by the presence of the senior Vice-President of the Society, the Honorable Mr. Bancroft—a member of that body by virtue of his office.

The Council have now the pleasure to announce a more substantial cause of congratulation—but I will allow the letter which I hold in my hand to tell its own tale,—

WORCESTER, October 4, 1886.

Honorable GEORGE F. HOAR,

President of the American Antiquarian Society.

MY DEAR SIR :

The advantage of possessing a fund to meet the cost of improvements and of ordinary and extraordinary repairs has been constantly enjoyed by the American Antiquarian Society since the year 1867, when such a fund was created by my father, primarily to erect an addition to the Library building, and from the date of its completion in

1877 used for general repairs and improvements. This fund is now much reduced in amount.

I now desire to place at the disposal of the Council Five Thousand Dollars, to be added to the Salisbury Building Fund and invested by the Finance Committee, with the expectation that both the principal and the interest accruing shall be expended when occasion may require, under direction of the Council and of the Committee on the Library in making such improvements and repairs of the property of the Society as in their judgment may seem best.

Very respectfully yours,

STEPHEN SALISBURY.

Three members of the Society have died since the semi-annual meeting in April last—the Hon. John Russell Bartlett, Professor Calvin E. Stowe, D.D., and Colonel Charles Whittlesey.

Mr. Bartlett died on the 28th of May last at his residence in Providence, R. I. He was elected a member of this Society on the 30th of April, 1856. He was the son of Smith and Nancy (Russell) Bartlett, and was born in Providence on the 23d of October, 1805. While an infant his family removed to Kingston, Upper Canada, and there he spent his boyhood and youth to the age of eighteen years. The schools in Kingston, an academy in Lowville, in one of the upper counties of New York, where he spent two years, and a school in Montreal, where he spent one year, afforded him such education as he received during this period. The instruction at these schools was principally elementary, but he learned to write an elegant hand, which he retained through life, and to be an accurate accountant, and he became qualified to assist his father in conducting a somewhat extensive business in Canada. He also acquired skill as a draughtsman, and in the sketching of scenery. He indulged in the athletic sports of the time, was fond of hunting and fishing, and in sailing and skating on the St. Lawrence. An intense love of reading, and of acquiring

knowledge, historical and geographical, distinguished him. This wild and romantic life had its charms, and left its impressions.

In 1824, at the age of eighteen years, he returned to his native town of Providence on a visit to his mother's brother, Captain William Russell, a veteran dry goods dealer of North Main Street, who was the first to move into the "Arcade" in Westminster Street, after that building was erected in 1827 and 1828. Mr. Russell made his nephew a clerk in his shop and here he remained three or four years; and here he became acquainted with Cyrus Butler, the wealthiest citizen of Providence, the owner of one-half of the Arcade building, and the President and principal owner of the Bank of North America, who, in 1828, appointed Mr. Bartlett to the place of bookkeeper in the bank. In this position he acquired the confidence and esteem of his employer. In 1831, on the organization of the Globe Bank Mr. Bartlett was chosen cashier, and in this employment he remained for several years. Retaining his early love of literature he now became a member of the Franklin Society, of which Mr. William T. Grinnell was President, of the Rhode Island Historical Society, and of the Providence Athenaeum, of which latter institution he and his friends Dr. F. A. Farley and Dr. Thomas H. Webb were regarded as the principal founders.

About the year 1831, the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries were making enquiries relating to traces of early voyages of the Northmen to New England, and they published a request to New England antiquaries for information. The matter at length engaged the attention of the Rhode Island Historical Society, and Dr. Webb, Mr. Bartlett and Mr. Albert G. Greene were appointed to make the necessary enquiries. Fac-similes of the inscriptions on Dighton Rock and elsewhere were prepared and sent to the Northern Society, but with no expressed opinion as to their origin or importance, and they were printed in one of

the Society's volumes known as *Antiquitates Americanæ*, published in 1837, with the thanks of the Society to Messrs. Bartlett and Webb (by whom this service was performed), who were made honorary members of their body.

In 1836 Mr. Bartlett removed to the city of New York and engaged for a time in a dry goods commission house, but soon became associated with Mr. Charles Welford in the book-selling business, under the firm name of Bartlett and Welford, whose place of business was No. 7 Astor House building. Here they dealt in foreign and American books, and their rooms were a resort for the leading scholars and literary men of New York. During his residence here he took an active part in various literary societies in that city. He had already been a member of the New York Historical Society, and now he was chosen Corresponding Secretary, and also Secretary of the American Ethnological Society, of which he and Mr. Gallatin were among the founders, the latter being President until his death. Before these societies Mr. Bartlett often read papers on historical and ethnological subjects. He was also chosen a member of many other learned societies in Europe and America. He also published during this period several books on his chosen themes of study. In 1847 he published a work on The Progress of Ethnology. In 1848 he published his Dictionary of Americanisms, which went through four editions, a Dutch translation of which was published in Holland in 1854, and a German edition (in Leipsic) in 1866. The work was favorably reviewed in *Blackwood* and in *The London Times*. In 1849 he published Reminiscences of the Hon. Albert Gallatin.

New scenes were now opening before him. In 1850 Mr. Bartlett retired from the book business and returned to his home in Providence, but in June of that year he was appointed by President Taylor United States Commissioner to run the boundary line between the United States and Mexico, under the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, in which

duty he was employed for nearly three years, or till February, 1853. During this period he made extensive explorations in Texas, New Mexico, Chihuahua, Sonora, California and the country now known as Arizona—the results of which appeared in 1854, in two volumes, with maps and plates.

Returning now to his native city of Providence, he was in 1855 elected Secretary of State of Rhode Island, and to this office he was annually re-elected until 1872, a period of seventeen years. Soon after entering upon his office Mr. Bartlett made known to the General Assembly the condition of the records and papers in his office, and the Joint Committee thereupon appointed authorized the Secretary of State to classify and arrange all the manuscript documents in his office, and cause them to be bound in suitable volumes. The work was done, and the public papers in the archives of the State, about twenty-five thousand in number, were put in order, restored, and bound in a hundred and ninety-two volumes and twenty-eight portfolios. Another important service was performed by Mr. Bartlett. During the first ten years of his Secretaryship there were published in ten volumes, under his editorial supervision, the *Records of the Colony and State of Rhode Island*, printed by order of the General Assembly, 1855–1865, illustrated with documents, letters and notes, many of the papers coming from the rich private collection of Mr. John Carter Brown.

His term of office covered the excited period of the Civil War in which the officers of every State were burthened with unusual labors and cares, and of these Mr. Bartlett bore his full share. The responsibilities he assumed and the labors he performed at this time reflect the highest credit upon his abilities and upon his patriotism.

In 1867 Mr. Bartlett visited Europe and attended the meeting of the Archaeological Congress held that year at Antwerp, as a delegate from this Society, and his report of

that meeting was laid before the Society in April of the following year. He also visited Europe in 1873 as one of the United States Commissioners to the International Prison Congress in London, and attended their meetings.

In 1848 Mr. Bartlett received the honorary degree of Master of Arts at Brown University. He was for thirty years a member of the American Antiquarian Society, and for the same period of time a corresponding member of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

I have already mentioned several of his published works, but the entire list comprises many others. Of these the most important are the "Bibliography of Rhode Island," published in 1864; "The Literature of the Rebellion," 1866; "Memoirs of Rhode Island Officers in the Service of the Country during the Civil War," 1867; "History of the Manton Family of Newport," 1878; "Genealogy of the Russell Family," 1879; the "Naval History of Rhode Island," 1880. He was a frequent contributor to newspapers and magazines, in which he discussed those subjects to which his studies were principally devoted.

After his final return to Providence, for several years, and to the close of his useful and busy life, Mr. Bartlett devoted much of his time and lent his valuable aid in building up and interpreting the noble private library of Mr. John Carter Brown of Providence—now one of the most complete collections of early books relating to the history of America in this country, perhaps in the world. Mr. Bartlett's connection with this library was at first incidental and probably grew out of his love of books relating to early American history. By the liberal disposition of Mr. Brown's great wealth was this collection brought together, and by like means was Mr. Bartlett enabled to prepare and print a valuable catalogue of this library, which alone was needed to reveal its treasures. Part I. of this catalogue—a small volume of 79 pages, with three hundred titles, and coming down to the year 1600—was

issued in 1865. Part II.—comprising books printed between 1600 and 1700 and containing 1152 titles—was issued in 1866. Part III., from 1701 to 1771, was issued in 1870; and Part IV., 1771 to 1800, was issued in 1871. These were sumptuous volumes, and were printed in the highest style of the art by Mr. Houghton of Cambridge, and were illustrated by the editor with valuable notes. But a yet more sumptuous volume awaited the recipient of Mr. Brown's bibliographical favors. In 1875, ten years after the issue of the first part of the catalogue, the gems or nuggets of the collection had so increased that a new edition of that part was issued containing 600 titles or lots, instead of 300. And this was yet further illustrated by fac-similes of a rare text, title-page, portrait, or map, united to generous annotations—all which make the book a luxury to behold. And to complete the description I will add that a second edition of Part II., 1600–1700, and now comprising 1642 titles, and containing 647 pages, and illustrated in a similar manner to the last, was issued in 1882. Bibliographers are indebted for the last two volumes to the generosity of Mrs. Brown, the lamented death of the founder of the library having taken place before the volumes were completed.

If Mr. Bartlett had done nothing more than edit this catalogue of Mr. Brown's library he would have left a name to be held in grateful remembrance by all American bibliographers.

My acquaintance with Mr. Bartlett extended over a period of forty years. I knew his great worth. I respected him for his ability and learning and loved him for his modest and unselfish nature, which ever shrunk from notoriety or self-assertion. He was personally most useful to investigators, and was ever ready to impart his ample stores of knowledge to others; and while he was the custodian of Mr. Brown's books before the publication of the catalogue to which I have referred above, he was ever ready to serve as a key to unlock the treasures then beyond our reach.

Mr. Bartlett had been in feeble health for many months, but yet kept up his interest in the old themes; the immediate cause of his death was paralysis of the heart. Living in the city of Providence the greater part of his life, he was in sentiment as well as by birth a Rhode Island man. He loved her institutions and studied and illustrated her history. He lived among her most illustrious men as one of them. His memory will be held in grateful recollection by his State, by his town, and by his many friends who ever saw in him the scholar and the gentleman.¹

Prof. Stowe died on the 22d of August, 1886. He was elected a member of this Society April 26, 1865. He was born in Natick, Mass., April 26, 1802, graduated at Bowdoin College in 1824, and at Andover Theological Seminary in 1828. Here he remained two years, and in 1830 became professor of languages at Dartmouth College. While here he married a daughter of the Rev. Bennet Tyler of East Windsor, who died in 1833, in which year he was appointed professor of biblical literature in Lane Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio. Here he became a co-laborer with the Rev. Lyman Beecher, whose daughter, Harriet Elizabeth, he married on the 5th of January, 1836. In addition to his professional labors in Lane Seminary, Prof. Stowe aided in laying the foundations of the present school system of Ohio, by lecturing and writing. He visited Europe in 1836 to procure a library for the Seminary, and to examine, on behalf of the State of Ohio, into the public school system of Prussia and other German states. On his return next year he published a report on Elementary Education in Europe, which was distributed in every school district of Ohio and elsewhere by authority of the State. This was followed by other reports on kindred subjects.

¹This sketch has been compiled partly from notices of Mr. Bartlett in the *Providence Journal* of May 29, 1886, and partly from an admirable paper on his "Life and Services" read before the Rhode Island Historical Society, November 2, 1886, by its President, Professor William Gammell. Where I have noticed any variation in these notices as to dates, etc., I have not hesitated to follow the later and more elaborate account.

In 1850, feeling his health impaired by too much work, he left Lane Seminary and became professor of divinity in Bowdoin College, where he remained about two years. It was while living here that Mrs. Stowe became known to the world through the publication of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." One of the incidents which inspired this publication occurred during their life in Cincinnati, where Prof. Stowe and Charles Beecher, under cover of a dark night, carried a fugitive slave from Kentucky to a safe station on the "Underground Railroad." Just after their removal to Bowdoin College the Fugitive Slave Law was passed, and kindled in the soul of Mrs. Stowe the determination to show slavery in its true light. In a sketch of Mrs. Stowe, by the Rev. Dr. Parker, in a volume entitled "Eminent Women of the Age," is the following:—

"One day, on entering his wife's room in Brunswick, Professor Stowe saw several sheets of paper lying loosely here and there, which were covered with her handwriting. He took them up in curiosity and read them. The death of Uncle Tom was what he read. That was first written, and it was all that then had been written. 'You can make something out of this,' said he. 'I mean to do so,' was the reply. Soon after, Mr. Bailey, who was then publishing an anti-slavery paper in Washington, solicited Mrs. Stowe to write a series of articles for its columns. The way was open, and she was ready, and, being called of God, by faith she went forth, not knowing whither she went. Her Uncle Tom should have a history of which his death scene should be the logical consequence and culmination. As she mused the fire burned. The true starting-point was readily found and gradually a most felicitous story-form was conceived, in which a picture of slavery as it is might be exhibited. 'Uncle Tom' began to be published in the *National Era* in the summer of 1851 and was continued from week to week until its conclusion in March, 1852.

"When Mr. Jewett, the Boston publisher, a few months after its publication in book form paid Professor Stowe \$10,000, as the first instalment of profit on the sale, the professor said it was 'more money than he had seen in all his life.'"

In 1852 Prof. Stowe accepted the chair of sacred literature in Andover Seminary, where he remained until 1864, when he removed to Hartford, Conn. Here he continued to live till his death, and for almost twenty years was practically retired from public life. He now employed a part of his time in an endeavor to complete an elaborate work on the "Origin and History of the Books of the Bible," of which the first part was published in 1867. As I have already said he died on the 22d of last August.

Prof. Stowe's social qualities made him a most attractive and entertaining companion, though of late years he had suffered somewhat from deafness. He was a great reader in several languages, and a close observer of events; and he had a retentive memory. With an alert mind and a keen wit, he was a good talker—original in phrase and striking in thought. He was more remarkable for the range than for the scientific accuracy of his scholarship. While the past kept fresh hold on him he was keenly alive to the present. Yet interested as he was in the daily news and in passing events, he kept his interest in the great master minds of the world. When too ill to be much or long absent from his bed there were two books that he always kept by him—the Greek Testament and Faust in the original. These books he always had within his reach, that he might take them up if he was wakeful at night, and he wore out edition after edition of them in that way. His christian faith was that of a child. Death for him had no terrors. He saw in it a welcome release.¹

Colonel Whittlesey died on the 18th of October, 1886. He was elected a member of this Society on the 27th of April, 1870. He was born in Southington, Hartford County, Conn., on the 5th of October, 1808, being the oldest child of Asaph and Vesta Whittlesey. In 1813 the family removed to Ohio, and found a home in the wilder-

¹This sketch of Professor Stowe has been compiled from a notice of him in the *Hartford Courant* of August 23, the day following his death.

ness of what is now Tallmadge, Summit County. Here in an old log school-house, situated just south of the centre of the town, was obtained the principal part of Charles Whittlesey's education until 1819, when a frame building was erected for an academy, at which the young pioneer pursued his studies during the winter season, while in the summer he occupied his time in his duties on the farm. This continued until the year 1824, and as he now began to show a special aptitude for a military life he was, some three years later, appointed to a cadetship at West Point. Here he pursued his studies vigorously, and graduated in the year 1831, and as brevet second lieutenant was assigned to duty in the Fifth United States Infantry, with which organization he served during the campaign of 1832, in what is known as the Black Hawk War. Not long after this period he resigned, and opened a law office in Cleveland. Here, indulging in his fondness for scientific studies, and in the performance of the duties which as part owner and editor of the *Whig and Herald* newspaper devolved upon him, he passed his time until the year 1837, when he was made assistant geologist for the Ohio survey, for which work he had a special fitness. Many valuable discoveries of coal and minerals were made by the survey, but after two years the work was discontinued by lack of appropriations. At the close of his engagement with the State his services were in constant requisition for the location of mines and in other private geological work. In the year 1847 he was employed by the United States government on a geological survey of the land around Lake Superior and between the lake and the upper Mississippi river, with a view to ascertain the mineral wealth of that region, and in this work he was engaged for four or five years, with important results. His success here led to his appointment by the State of Wisconsin to the same service, and here he was occupied from 1858 to 1861, when the work was suspended by the breaking out of the Civil War.

On his return to Cleveland Colonel Whittlesey became identified with a local military organization, which was early in the year 1861 tendered to General Scott; and when fears were felt that violence was intended to Mr. Lincoln, on his entering Washington, he with a number of others volunteered his services to General Scott as a military guard. In February, 1861, he became convinced that a crisis was at hand and he urged upon the Governor and Legislature of Ohio to be prepared for it. Within two days after the President's proclamation of the 15th of April he was at Columbus on the Governor's staff as assistant quartermaster general, engaged in the organization and equipment of the three months' men who had been called out, and he was immediately sent to the field in Western Virginia, where he served as State military engineer with the forces under Generals McClellan, Cox and Hill. At the expiration of his term of enlistment he re-entered the three years' service as Colonel of the Twentieth Regiment of Ohio Volunteers, and under General O. M. Mitchell was Chief Engineer of the Department of Ohio. In this capacity he planned and constructed the defences of Cincinnati, and subsequently volunteered for the defence of that city when it was threatened. At the capture of Fort Donelson he was placed in charge of the prisoners taken. His active military career terminated with the second day of the battle of Shiloh, where he commanded the third brigade of General Wallace's division. For bravery on this occasion the third brigade and its commander were especially commended. His increasing infirmities and the critical condition of his wife's health had determined him to resign, but he remained until he could retire without detriment to the service, or misconstruction of his object. The deepest regret at his leaving was expressed by the leading commanders under whom he had served, whilst acknowledging the force of the reasons which impelled the step.

After the close of the Civil War, and until two years

before his death, Colonel Whittlesey devoted his time to scientific pursuits, and it was largely through his efforts that the Western Reserve Historical Society was formed, not long after the close of the war.

"The geological explorations of the country around Lake Superior and the Upper Mississippi were continued. During his successive explorations in that region his attention had frequently been drawn to the evidences of ancient mining, long anterior to the advent of white men and apparently pointing to the residence or visits of races prior to the occupation of the country by the present Indian race. These traces of ancient civilization were followed with ever freshening interest, and exploration of the ancient works in Ohio and in various places in the Mississippi valley convinced him that the mound builders of Ohio and the Mississippi valley were kin, if not identical with the ancient copper miners of Lake Superior. This and other discoveries by Colonel Whittlesey have been received as of the highest importance by scientists engaged in the study of the ancient history of the American continent. The changes in the lake levels and the obscure phenomena of lake tides have also been the subjects of close study, and papers of high scientific value published among the Smithsonian contributions to knowledge and other scientific collections."¹

Colonel Whittlesey's pen was not idle. Some of his productions may be found in the Geological Reports of Ohio, 1838-39; "The United States Geological Surveys of the Upper Mississippi," 1847 to 1849; "The United States Geological Surveys of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan," 1850-51; "Life of John Fitch," in volume VI. of Sparks's American Biography, new series, 1845; "Fugitive Essays," 1854; "Ancient Works of Ohio," 1852; "Fluctuation of Lake Levels," 1860; "Ancient Mining on Lake Superior," 1863; "Fresh Water Glacial Drift," 1866; "Mineral Resources of the Rocky Mountains," 1863; early

¹Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, October 19, 1886. This sketch has been compiled from a notice of Colonel Whittlesey which appeared in this paper and also from a notice in the Cleveland *News and Herald* of the same day's issue, October 19, the day following Colonel Whittlesey's death.

"History of Cleveland," 1867. His latest works recently issued are Tract No. 66 of the Western Reserve Historical Society, called "Colonel Bradstreet's Misfortune" and "Theism and Science." A recent writer remarks that Colonel Whittlesey's "work on the earthworks and mounds of Ohio was done with the greatest care, and his exposure of numerous frauds has been a valuable aid to science, while his paper on the ancient copper mines of Lake Superior is the standard memoir on that subject."

Colonel Whittlesey was married October 4, 1853, at Oswego, N. Y., to Mrs. Mary E. Morgan *née* Lyon, who survives her husband.

I now propose to read some notes on a subject not new, in fact rather old, and I hope I may not tire the patience of my hearers. The subject is—The Connection of Massachusetts with the Slave-Trade and with Slavery. Grave charges have sometimes been made against Massachusetts in relation to this subject. They were repeated by Jefferson Davis in his message to the so-called Confederate States, April 29, 1861,¹ and more recently they have been served up to us anew in a more florid style in the Senate of the United States, in words which I shall now take for my text.

In a debate on the 26th of March, 1884, on the subject of "Aid to Common Schools," Mr. Vance of North Carolina, in reply to a Senator from Massachusetts, after indulging in some uncomplimentary remarks in reference to that State, proceeded,—"A State that is more responsible under heaven than any other community in this land² for the introduction of slavery into this continent, with all the curses that have followed it; that is the nursing mother of the horrors of the middle passage, and that after slavery in Massachusetts was found not to pay sold those slaves down

¹George Livermore's *Historical Research*, p. 4, Boston, 1863.

²The language, "any other community in this land," might seem to limit the comparison, for the alleged responsibility, to the British colonies; but when, immediately following, Massachusetts is called "the nursing mother of the horrors of the middle passage," it is clear that no limitation was intended.

South for a consideration, and then thanked God, and sang the long metre Doxology through their noses, that they were not responsible any longer for the sin of human slavery, should at least be modest in applying epithets to her neighbors."

"If I may be permitted," he continues, "to disturb the dignified solemnities of this body for one moment, I will state what this reminds me of. I once heard of an old maid who got religion at a camp-meeting. Immediately after she had experienced the change she commenced exhorting the younger and prettier women in regard to wearing jewelry and gewgaws, and warned them against the pernicious consequences to piety of such vanities. 'Oh ! girls,' she said, 'I tell you, I used to wear ear-rings, and finger rings, and laces and furbelows like you do, but I found they were dragging my immortal soul down to hell ; and I stripped them every one off and sold them to my younger sister Sally.' That is the way Massachusetts relieved herself from slavery. That is the way she preserved her whiteness of soul."¹

Part of this language awakens the echoes which once resounded through the halls of Congress in the old slavery days. Passing over the sarcasm and wit shown in the illustrative anecdote, it will be more significant to enquire if the allegations of fact upon which they rest are true. No authorities are cited tending to substantiate them. Ordinarily it is difficult, often it is impossible to prove a negative.² But in this case it is easy to prove the falsity of the charges

¹ Cong. Rec., March 26, 1884, p. 2284.

² At the time this speech was made, and the passage above cited appeared in the newspapers, my friend and neighbor, the Hon. John C. Dodge, LL.D., urged me to write a reply to it, which for several reasons I declined, and commended the subject to him, offering him any materials I might have for his use. He consented, and made considerable progress in the work, but impaired eyesight warned him to desist from making further extra demands upon it, and he laid his manuscript aside before finishing it — at least according to his original intention. Mr. Dodge now kindly placed this paper in my hands with liberty to make such use of it as I might find convenient. I found it to be admirably prepared, and seeming fully to answer the purpose for which it was designed by

alleged, and to show where the responsibility of introducing slavery into this continent actually rests. The Senator might easily have informed himself that the work of transporting negroes from Africa to the mainland and islands of this continent was almost exclusively done by Englishmen and in English ships. Mr. Bancroft writing in 1840 summarizes the matter thus, — “ While the South Sea Company satisfied but imperfectly its passion for wealth, by a monopoly of the supply of negroes for the Spanish islands and main, the African Company and independent traders were still more busy in sending negroes to the colonies of England. To this eagerness, encouraged by English legislation, fostered by royal favor, and enforced for a century by every successive ministry of England, it is due, that one-sixth part of the population of the United States—a moiety of those who dwell in the five States nearest the Gulf of Mexico—are descendants of Africans.”¹

I have cited this extract from Mr. Bancroft’s History because the work is so easily accessible, the volume containing it having been published nearly fifty years ago. Let us look at some of the facts on which this statement rests. And I invite this inspection not merely by way of answering the charges alleged, which would require but little time and but a small space in this paper, but to bring before us some of the facts and statistics relating to the British slave-trade, in a narrative form, as more suitable to an occasion like this.

“The history of English America,” says Mr. Payne in his *Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen*, “begins with the three slave-trading voyages of John Hawkins, made in the years 1562, 1564, and 1567.² Nothing that Englishmen

him. I will add that I have here made free use of such of its notes and references as suited my purpose, thereby saving to myself considerable time and labor.

¹Bancroft’s *History of U. S.*, Vol. III., p. 402.

²It is not improbable that old William Hawkins, the father of John, had already made the Brazilian voyage in 1530 and 1532, by way of Guinea, though Hakluyt is silent as to slaves.

had done in connection with America, previously to those voyages had any results worth recording." Nearly seventy years before, John Cabot, sailing for England, had reached the New World, and some English adventurers as the tidings of discovery spread had crossed the Atlantic to the American coast. "But as years passed the English voyages to America had become fewer and fewer, and at length ceased altogether." As the Spanish and Portuguese plantations in America multiplied the demand for negroes also increased. The Spaniards had no African settlements, but the Portuguese, who were the pioneers in the negro slave-trade on the coast of Africa, had many; and with the aid of the French were able to supply enough for both themselves and their neighbor. But so rapid was the growth of the Brazilian plantations, about the middle of the sixteenth century, that they absorbed the entire supply and the Spanish colonists knew not where to look for negroes. "This penury of slaves in the Spanish Indies became known to the English and French captains who frequented the Guinea coast; and John Hawkins who had been engaged from boyhood in the trade with Spain and the Canaries, resolved in 1562 to take a cargo of negro slaves to Hispaniola."¹ The old chronicler, Hakluyt, has preserved an account of these three expeditions, of the kidnapping of the negroes on the coast of Africa, and their transportation to the West Indies, written by eye-witnesses. The first voyage, which was successful, opened the seas of the West Indies to the English navigator. Hawkins sold his negroes in Hispaniola, delivering them at the northern ports on the island. The second voyage was likewise successful, for Hawkins entered the Caribbean Sea, visited the Spanish main, where he sold his living freight, and returned by the way of Florida—where he visited the French colony of Laudonnière—and the coast of North America, following very nearly the

¹ *Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen to America*, by E. J. Payne: London, 1880, pp. 1-6.

track of Verrazzano forty years before. This voyage won for him wealth and distinction, and in 1565 he obtained from the Queen his well-known coat of arms, having the crest of "a demi-moor bound and captive." The vessel in which he sailed on this voyage, the one he personally commanded, was the "Jesus." His third voyage was disastrous in the extreme, as in an encounter with a Spanish fleet at the port of San Juan de Ullua, in which he had taken refuge in a storm, he barely escaped to tell the tale. In his distress he was obliged to put on shore, on the Mexican coast, one hundred men, being one-half of his number, to struggle for themselves, and the subsequent history of those who survived forms an interesting episode in the early annals of America.

It should perhaps be explained here why Hawkins was obliged to visit the Spanish ports in America by stealth to sell his negroes, when this species of merchandise was so much wanted. The Spanish colonists were eager to buy and to them Hawkins sold in spite of the remonstrance and opposition of the Spanish colonial officials, who had been instructed by the government at home to admit no English ships into their ports. For political reasons especially, great jealousy of the English existed in Spain, and after Hawkins's first and second voyages, express orders were issued against him. Hawkins was, therefore, an interloper on the coast. This was Hawkins's last slave-voyage, and he is the only Englishman who, during the sixteenth century, mixed himself up with the slave-trade.¹

I might add that previous to Hawkins's slave ventures English merchantmen often visited the coast of Africa. We find them there in 1551, and in the following years down to 1556, but no slaves are mentioned as objects of traffic.²

¹"Some Account of the Trade in Slaves from Africa as connected with Europe and America," &c., by James Bandinel, Esq., Foreign Office, London, 1842, p. 39.

²Bandinel, 33, 36. "It is said, that, in the year 1553, four and twenty negroes

England now began to realize the importance of enlarging her commerce as a vent for her manufacturing products, and several commercial companies were chartered by royal favor in aid of their schemes for trading to different parts of the African coast. A few voyages were made, but negroes are not mentioned as objects of traffic.¹

In 1618 a royal grant was made to the Governor and Company of Adventurers trading to Africa, which is the first instance in which the English seriously interfered with the exclusive sovereignty claimed by Portugal on that coast. They erected forts and established factories on the Gambia, but the profits not answering their expectations the company disbanded and the charter was suffered to expire. But that company did not meddle with the trade in slaves.²

In 1631 a second African company was chartered for

were brought into this island from the coast of Africa, and immediately to an English port, as at that time we had no American or sugar trade."—Barrington's Statutes, 281, quoting Hakluyt.

¹ Bandinel, 39; Astley's *Voyages*, II., 158, 159.

² Bandinel, 42, 43; Edwards's, *West Indies*, II., 52, London, 1819. There probably were at this early period roaming vessels of the English as of other nations ready to pick up negroes on the coast of Africa or elsewhere nearer at home.

In August, 1619, a Dutch man-of-war arrived in Virginia, and sold to the planters there twenty negroes, the first brought into the colony. This Dutch vessel was not a slaver from the coast of Africa. She had accidentally consorted, in the West Indies, with an English ship, the *Treasurer*, Captain Elfred, owned by the Earl of Warwick and Governor Argall, and was sent out by the former with an old commission from the Duke of Savoy, authorizing her to take Spaniards as lawful prize. Manned and newly victualled from Virginia she set out on her roving voyage. "These twenty negroes were part of one hundred," says one authority, "captured from a Spanish vessel by the *Treasurer*." (4 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., IX., 4-7, and note p. 4). The remainder were taken to Bermuda and placed on the Earl of Warwick's plantation. (Burk's *Virginia*, I., 319; Niell's *Virginia Company*, pp. 120, 121.)

Captain Arthur Guy, in 1628, in the ship *Fortune* of London, met and captured a slaver from the Angola coast, and brought many negroes to Virginia and exchanged them for tobacco. Niell's *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 59.

Dutch vessels are early found on the coast of Africa engaged in the slave business, and later they became one of the most active maritime powers to enlist in this traffic. In 1625 or 1626, the Dutch brought the first negroes to Manhattan. See Journals of the voyages of two Dutch slavers, the *St. John* and *Arms of Amsterdam*, 1659, 1663, which, with illustrative papers, were published in 1867, edited by E. B. O'Callaghan.

thirty-one years, and all persons except the patentees prohibited from trading to Guinea, between Cape Blanco and the Cape of Good Hope. As the English had now begun the settlement of plantations in the West Indies, negroes were in such demand as to induce the new company at great expense to erect forts and warehouses on the coast for the protection of their commerce. This marks the time when the English began to embark in the importing of slaves from Africa—the first since the days of Hawkins; but it does not appear that they had as yet entered upon what was called the “carrying trade” for others. The English, French, Dutch and Portuguese each supplied their own colonies with slaves. The Spaniards, as I have said, had no resources on the coast of Africa and were obliged to resort to other nations to supply their colonists. But the trade of this company was so interfered with by interlopers and private traders, united to the intense hostility of the Dutch, who had now acquired additional possessions in Guinea from the Portuguese, that the trade was laid open and so continued till after the Restoration. In 1641 the English Barbadoes procured sugar-cane from Brazil, and after the fashion of the Portuguese black slaves were resorted to for its cultivation.¹

In 1655, Cromwell, in failing to take St. Domingo, took Jamaica, and commenced peopling it with emigrants from England, Scotland and Ireland; and he had it “much at heart” to transport the Massachusetts colony thither. It does not appear that he contemplated the aid of negroes in cultivation. No sugar was yet produced here. But Jamaica was destined to play an important part in the history of the English slave-trade.

In the year 1662, Charles II. incorporated a third exclusive African company, of which his brother, the Duke of York, and other distinguished persons, were members. That company undertook to supply the British West India

¹ Bandinel, 44, 47, 48; Edwards, II., 52, 53.

colonies with three thousand negroes annually. In 1664, the King, intending to make war on the Dutch, sent Sir Robert Holmes to the coast of Africa with orders to reduce the Dutch forts near Cape Verde, and their factories on the Guinea coast. In this war New York was taken by the English. These several African companies, however, though protected by patents and exclusive privileges, do not appear to have flourished, and from time to time they returned into the hands of the Crown the favors granted to them.

In 1672—the third company having surrendered their charter to the Crown—the fourth and last exclusive African company was established. It was an incorporated company upon a joint stock, as the last company had been. It bore the dignified name of the “Royal African Company,” and it had among its members the King, the Duke of York, and many others of rank and quality. The capital was £111,000 sterling. The grant was from Port Sallee in South Barbary, to the Cape of Good Hope. They allowed the late company £34,000 for their three forts at Cape Coast Castle, Sierra Leone, and James Fort, and they exhibited great energy in prosecuting their business. They enlarged Cape Coast Castle, built forts at Accra, and five other places, and imported large quantities of dyestuffs, of ivory, wax and gold, and supplied the British colonists with slaves. From the gold dust which they procured was struck the English coin known as the “guinea”—from the name of the country—50,000 at one time, in 1673, and called “elephant guineas” from the stamp they bore. But by the Declaration of Right at the Revolution of 1688 all royal charters were attacked and the exclusive character of this company was taken away, though they still persisted in seizing the ships of the separate traders, which occasioned great clamor and obstruction. In 1689 the company entered into a contract to supply the Spanish West Indies with slaves from Jamaica, and in 1697–8 the trade to

traders, about 4,500 slaves, and in the last named year, as we have already seen, the company entered into a contract with the Spanish government to supply her colonies with slaves from Jamaica, which island was to be the *entrepot*; and it likewise appears that from 1698 to 1707 there were landed in the British colonies, partly by the company and partly by British traders, about 25,000 negroes a year.¹ The direct supply of slaves from Africa to the Spanish colonies was, however, at this time, engrossed by the French, and it was not till 1713 that the English took part in the carrying trade.²

We have now arrived at a new era in the history of the British slave-trade. In the year 1713, the French contract with Spain having expired, the Spanish government made over to an English company by formal royal contract the privilege of supplying the Spanish-American colonies with slaves from Africa. The Spanish term for contract, "*Assiento*," was now specially applied to this agreement. The contract was called "*The Assiento*," and the company the "*Assentists*." The contract was held of such importance as to form the subject of a stipulation in the preliminaries of the treaty of peace of Utrecht, and it was confirmed in the sixteenth article of that treaty. It was to last for thirty years.³ The treaty was really between Philip V. of Spain and Anne, Queen of England; and this is the language of the agreement:—"Her Britannic Majesty did offer and undertake, by persons whom she shall appoint, to bring into the West Indies of America belonging to his Catholic Majesty, in the space of thirty years 144,000 negroes, at the rate of 4,800 in each of the said thirty years;"⁴ advancing him 200,000 crowns for the privilege and paying a duty of thirty-three and one-half crowns for each slave. And they might import as many more as they could sell the first

¹ *Report of Privy Council on trade with Africa*, Bandinel, p. 56.

² Bandinel, p. 56.

³ Bandinel, pp. 57-61.

⁴ Bancroft, Vol. III., p. 232.

twenty-five years at a reduced scale of duty.¹ "Exactest care was taken," says Mr. Bancroft, "to secure a monopoly. No Frenchman, nor Spaniard, nor any other person might introduce one negro slave into Spanish-America. For the Spanish world in the Gulf of Mexico, on the Atlantic, and along the Pacific, as well as for the English colonies, her Britannic Majesty by persons of her appointment, was the exclusive slave trader. England extorted the privilege of filling the new world with negroes."² As large profits were expected, the King of Spain took one-quarter of the stock and gave his note for it, and the Queen reserved to herself one-quarter, while the remaining one-half was left for her subjects. Thus, continues Mr. Bancroft, the Sovereigns of England and Spain became the largest slave merchants in the world. By advice of her minister Queen Anne assigned her portion of the stock to the South Sea Company which contracted for this carrying trade.

It is calculated that for twenty years after this contract the number of slaves annually exported from Africa by the English was 15,000, of whom a third to a half went to the Spanish colonies; and that for the following twenty years the number was 20,000.³

The slave-trade part of the assiento had all along been a losing business, the only thing which sustained the company being the privilege reserved of sending annually a ship to Puerto Bello with merchandise—a clause in the contract which opened a wide field for fraudulent profit, as well as for complaint, resulting finally in loss, and was one occasion of the war which in 1739 broke out between England and Spain.

- In 1739, twenty-five years from the date of the assiento agreement, the English company had got in debt to Spain

¹ Bandinel, pp. 57, 58; Journal House of Commons, Vol. XVII., p. 341, Art. XII., p. 342; Mem. of Lord Bolingbroke, by G. W. Cooke, second ed., Vol. I., p. 238, London, 1836.

² Bancroft, III., 232.

³ Bandinel, p. 59.

to the amount of £68,000, and the King of Spain threatened to suspend the contract if the sum was not paid. The war between the two countries interrupted the contract which soon after came to an end.

The English African company, in the mean time, had been entirely ruined by the assiento speculation, and in 1729 were obliged to come before Parliament for assistance to keep up their forts and factories. We have already seen that the trade had been conditionally opened by government to English traders to her own colonies, so that the company's monopoly had been infringed upon. Parliament granted them from 1729 to 1749 £80,000, so important was it to keep alive one of the important agencies for transporting slaves from Africa.¹ But in 1750 the company was dissolved, their charter, forts and all their property surrendered to government who paid their debts, and the African trade was placed under a new company so that the business should be open to all his Majesty's subjects.² Although the African company now ceased to export negroes from Africa it must not be supposed that the number of slaves exported in English vessels had diminished. The carrying trade had become open to the English generally, and though other nations, the Dutch, the French, and lastly the Spaniard now by degrees entered into the business, still, from 1750 down to the time of the American Revolution, the English were by far the greatest exporters of slaves from Africa, and the number was constantly increasing.³

¹ Bandinel, p. 60.

² The preamble to the act of 1750 recites:—"Whereas the trade to Africa is very advantageous to Great Britain, and necessary for the supplying the plantations and colonies thereunto belonging with a sufficient number of negroes at reasonable rates, and for that purpose the said trade ought to be free to all his Majesty's subjects," etc. (*Statutes at large.*)

³ The following chronological summary may be interesting:—In 1708 a committee of the House of Commons reported that "the trade is important and ought to be free"; in 1711 a committee once more report that "the plantations ought to be supplied with negroes at reasonable rates," and recommend an

Edwards says that from 1733 to 1766 the average annual exportation of slaves from Africa by England might be estimated at 20,000, but that immediately before the troubles with America the number had increased to 41,000. And Macpherson in his History of Commerce, states that the number shipped in 1768 by all nations for America and the West Indies was estimated at 97,000, that of these the British shipping took 60,000.¹

Edwards² estimates that between 1680 and 1700, twenty years, the African company and the private traders exported from Africa 300,000, which is 15,000 a year. From 1700 to 1786 to Jamaica alone 610,000, or about 7,000 annually. Of the number in the same interval, imported into the southern provinces of North America as well as the Windward Islands such precision cannot be employed, but Edwards is of opinion that Jamaica may be one-third of the whole, and that the total import into all the British colonies of America and the West Indies from 1680 to 1786, or one hundred and six years, may be put at 2,130,000, an annual average of 20,095.

I have a list of slave ships which sailed from England from 1771 to 1787, eighteen years. In 1771, 192 ships sailed from Liverpool, London and Bristol, provided for 47,000 slaves—107 ships from Liverpool alone provided for 29,250 slaves. In 1772, 175 vessels were employed;

Increase of the trade; in June, 1712, Queen Anne, in her speech to Parliament, boasts of her success in securing to Englishmen a new market for slaves in Spanish America; in 1729 George II. recommended a provision at the national expense for the African forts, and the recommendation was allowed; at last, in 1749, to give the highest activity to the trade, every obstruction to private enterprise was removed and the ports of Africa were laid open to English competition, for "the slave trade," in the words of the statute, "is very advantageous to Great Britain." "The British Senate," writes Horace Walpole to Sir H. Mann, February 25, 1750, "have this fortnight been pondering methods to make more effectual that horrid traffic of selling negroes; it has appeared to us that six and forty thousand of these wretches are sold every year to our plantations alone." (Bancroft, III., 414.) Bandinel, pp. 61, 63.

¹ Bandinel, p. 63.

² Vol. II., p. 64, ed. of 1819.

1773, 151; 1774, 167; 1775, 152; 1776, 101.¹ In the three following years owing to the American Revolution there was a brief suspension of the trade, but at its close it was renewed.

And here I may mention, incidentally, that so large was the death-rate among slaves in the West Indies and so small the natural increase, that in 1840, the whole negro population in the English islands, including mixed breeds, did not exceed 763,000. Burke, in his account of the European settlements in America, in 1755, states, that at that period the number of negro slaves in the British possessions in the West Indies was about 240,000, and that of the white population 90,000; and that in Virginia there were about 100,000 negro slaves, with a white population of between 60,000 and 70,000; and that the English imported annually at least one-sixteenth part of the existing negroes to keep up the stock, making an importation of about 15,000 annually for the British West Indies, and of 6,200 for Virginia.² This shows that the number had to be made good by constant importation. It was different in the original colonies of the United States. With an estimated importation as a seed plot of, say, 350,000, from 1619 to 1808, these had increased in 1830 to 2,328,642³ or in 1860 to near 4,000,000.⁴

"We shall not err very much," says Mr. Bancroft, "if, for the century previous to the prohibition of the slave-trade by the American Congress, in 1776, we assume the number imported by the English into the Spanish, French, and English West Indies, as well as the English continental colonies, to have been, collectively nearly three millions, to which are to be added more than a quarter of a million

¹ Edwards, II., 65, 66.

² Bandinel, 64, 65.

³ T. G. Bradford and S. G. Goodrich, *Atlas*, 166, 167.

⁴ About 30,000 were found in Louisiana at the time of her incorporation into the Union. H. C. Carey, "Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign," Philadelphia, 1856, pp. 13, 17.

thrown into the Atlantic on the passage." And these statistics, I may add, are the lowest ever made by any writer. "English ships fitted out in English cities," continues Mr. Bancroft, "under the special favor of the royal family, of the ministry, and of parliament, stole from Africa, in the years from 1700 to 1750, probably a million and a half of souls, of whom one-eighth were buried in the Atlantic, victims of the passage."¹

Here we see who is principally responsible, since the beginning of their settlement, for introducing slaves from Africa into the British-American colonies. It is the story

ERRATA FOR PROC. AM. ANTIQ. SOC. FOR OCTOBER, 1886.

Page 205, line 27, for "Joseph Sewall" read *Judge Sewall*.

" 210, " 15 of *note*, for "Judge Lowell" read *Judge Sewall*.

from the heart of the people against this crime to humanity, from the time of Joseph Sewall in 1700 to Nathaniel Appleton in 1769, which ere long made itself felt as a controlling influence in the community.

The Massachusetts colonists became early a commercial people. They built ships and freighted them with their own productions, and traded to the West Indies, the Spanish main and to Europe, quite regardless of the English Act of Navigation—after the passage of that act in 1651. And as it is well known that there were a few negro slaves

¹ Bancroft, III., 411, 412.

in the colony during the first charter, it is clear that some of them were part of the return cargoes from the West Indies. Some of their vessels went as far as the coast of Africa, and Winthrop notices one which went to the Canaries in 1644 with pipe-staves, and brought home an assorted cargo which she took in at Barbadoes "in exchange for Africoes which she carried from the Isle of Maio," one of the Cape Verde Islands.

The first negroes brought into the colony, so far as we know, came in the ship *Desire*, Captain Peirce, February 26, 1637-38, who brought home some cotton and tobacco and negroes from the West Indies. These were the return cargo of the vessel, which, seven months before, had taken some Pequot captives to the Bermudas for sale. The three negroes seen by Josselyn at Samuel Maverick's house on Noddle's Island in October of the following year, no doubt came from that importation. We do not know whether these were all.¹

In 1645 it came to the knowledge of the Massachusetts authorities that some slaves had been brought into the colony from Guinea that had been kidnapped or stolen from that coast, one of whom was in possession of a Mr. Williams of Piscataqua. The owner was required to produce the negro, and an order was passed November 4, 1646, directing that the captives be returned to their native land of Guinea, "the General Court conceiving themselves bound by the first opportunity to bear witness against the heinous and crying sin of man-stealing," and the Governor was desired to put the order into execution.²

In whatever light we may regard this transaction, it is evident from this, that the negro, in 1645, was regarded in Massachusetts as a *man*; and by a clause in the Body of Liberties of 1641, "Man-stealing" was punished with death.

¹ Winthrop's *Journal*, Vol. I., p. 255; Josselyn's *Voyages*, London, 1674, p. 28.

² Mass. Coll. Rec., Vol. II., p. 168.

In this case it was doubted whether the authority of the government extended so far as to punish a citizen for acts committed on the coast of Africa.

Edward Randolph in 1676, and Governor Bradstreet in 1680, report a few slaves brought here from Guinea and Madagascar, and from the West Indies, but do not mention who brought them. The latter says that "no company of slaves have been brought since the establishment of the colony fifty years ago, except about two years ago, after twenty months' voyage to Madagascar, a vessel brought forty or fifty negroes."¹

Sir Josiah Childe in his *New Discourse of Trade*,² first published in 1668 (a remarkable book for its day), has an interesting passage on the commerce of New England,—and where he speaks of New England he probably means Massachusetts—in which he enumerates her articles of export and import, describes the whole course and extent of her trade, but says not a word of negroes, except to draw a comparison between New England and Barbadoes, where slaves were employed as laborers. And Edward Randolph, referred to above, in a long and interesting report to the Privy Council in 1676, on the resources of the country, her agriculture, her manufactures, the character and extent of her commerce with her sister colonies and with foreign nations, says, near the close of this section of his paper:—"There are some ships lately sent to Guinea, Madagascar and those coasts, and some to Scanderoon, laden with masts and yards for ships."³

Governor Dudley, in 1708, in replying to the circular letter from the Board of Trade, to which I have already referred, says that from January 24, 1698, to December 25, 1707, 200 negroes arrived in Massachusetts—that the African company had not any factory or ships here.

¹ *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, VIII., 337.

² See pp. 212-214 of edition of 1698.

³ *Hutchinson Papers*, p. 495.

"Some traders on their own account, a long time since, have been on the coast of Guinea and imported slaves. The last was Thomas Winsor, who brought slaves from Africa in 1699, and also twenty-five of them in 1700."¹ The duties belonging to the African company are enclosed by the writer. "Such money," says Mr. Felt, "appears to have been what the company claimed by their charter, which allowed them the monopoly of the slave-trade with the English dominions."

More slaves were brought into the colony as the new century opened. Some of them probably coming from the West Indies, and some of them direct from the coast of Africa; and to whatever extent the African slave-trade was prosecuted from Massachusetts, it seems to have been, prior to the middle of the eighteenth century, confined to a comparatively few vessels. Statistics unhappily are wanting, and we must reason from general facts and contemporary opinions. We have already seen that the African companies had, by their charters, a complete monopoly of the trade—from 1631 to 1698—except during small intervals of time, and from the last named date to 1750, the trade was so far opened that "any of the subjects of his Majesty's Realm of England" could participate in it—by implication no others. There can be little doubt that interloping vessels from Massachusetts sometimes visited the coast before the trade was freely opened in 1750. The companies struggled hard from the beginning to maintain their monopoly. I have a long and interesting letter—a printed broadside—dated November 15, 1690, addressed to a member of Parliament, protesting against the opening of the trade, and claiming that the business required so much capital to carry it on that it could be conducted to advantage only by an incorporated company and a joint stock. In the year 1750 the trade was thrown open, and Massachusetts and other colonies took part in it.

¹ Felt, *American Statistical Association*, Vol. I., p. 586.

One of the best authorities on the subject of slavery in Massachusetts was Dr. Jeremy Belknap of Boston, an eminent historical scholar, and the founder of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He was born in Boston in 1744. In order to correctly answer several queries from Judge Tucker of Virginia relating to slavery in Massachusetts, Dr. Belknap, in 1795, addressed some forty letters of enquiry to eminent and venerable citizens of the State; and from the letters he received in reply and from personal conferences with others, united to his own knowledge, he drew up an answer to Judge Tucker, which was published three years later in the fourth volume of the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections.¹ Concerning the slave-trade he says:—

¹The letters received by Dr. Belknap, of this correspondence, or so many of them as are preserved, were printed by me nine years ago in 5 Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, III., 379-403. Of the writers of these, only seven in number, five have given their opinions on the subject in hand.

Dr. John Elliot, born in 1754, writes,—“The African trade was carried on; and commenced at an early period; to a small extent compared with Rhode Island, but it made a considerable branch of our commerce (to judge from the number of our still-houses, and masters of vessels now living who have been in the trade). It declined very little till the revolution. Some excellent writings were diffused previously to this, and the sentiment of the people was against it; but the merchants who had been engaged in the business still continued sending their vessels for slaves, till the trade was prohibited by act of the court, 1788.”

Samuel Dexter of Weston, the father of Samuel Dexter, the statesman, born 1726, writes,—“If any such trade really existed at an early period, I may have read something about it, but can now recollect nothing. It certainly never was, at any time, carried on to a great extent in Massachusetts. Adventurers from here have been concerned in trade from Africa to the West Indies; but I know of none since Thomas Boylston, now in London, quitted it. McCarthy, and, I believe, Job Prince, were his captains; the former, divers voyages. Vessels from Rhode Island have brought slaves into Boston. Whether any have been imported in that town by its own merchants, I am unable to say. I have, more than fifty years ago, seen a vessel or two with slaves brought into Boston, but do not recollect where they were owned. At that time [1745] it was a very rare thing to hear the trade reprobated.”

Thomas Pemberton, born 1728, writes,—“We know that a large trade to Guinea was carried on for many years by the citizens of the Massachusetts colony, who were the proprietors of the vessels and their cargoes, out and home. Some of the slaves purchased in Guinea, and I suppose the greatest part of them, were sold in the West Indies, some were brought to Boston and Charlestown, and sold to town and country purchasers by the head. . . . This business of importing and selling negroes continued till nearly the time of the

"The African trade was never prosecuted to a great extent by the merchants of Massachusetts. No records or memorials are remaining by which anything respecting it, in the last century, can be known. . . . By the inquiries which I have made of our oldest merchants now living, I cannot find that more than three ships in a year, belonging to this port, were ever employed in the African trade. The rum distilled here was the main-spring of this traffic. The slaves, purchased in Africa, were chiefly sold in the West Indies, or in the southern colonies; but when those markets were glutted, and the price low, some of them were brought hither. Very few whole cargoes ever came to this port. One gentleman says he remembers two or three. I remember one, between thirty and forty years ago, which consisted almost wholly of children. At Rhode Island the rum distillery and the African trade were prosecuted to a greater extent than in Boston; and I believe no other seaport in Massachusetts had any concern in the slave business. Sometimes the Rhode Island vessels, after having sold their prime slaves in the West Indies, brought the remnants of their cargoes hither for sale. Since this commerce has declined the town of Newport has gone to decay. . . . A few only of our merchants were engaged in this kind of traffic. It required a large capital and was considered as peculiarly hazardous, though gainful. It was never supported by popular opinion; and the voice of conscience was

controversy with Great Britain. The precise date when it wholly ceased I cannot ascertain, but it declined and drew to a period about the time the British Parliament attempted to enslave the colonists by arbitrary acts."

Judge James Winthrop, born, say in 1751, writes,—"I have no certain information, but believe it was never carried on to any considerable extent but by way of Rhode Island."

Dr. Holyoke, a physician of Salem, born 1728, to Judge Tucker's second query, "if the African slave trade was carried on thither?" writes,—"Yes, but never, I believe, to any great extent. When it commenced I know not, nor when it began to decline. But few cargoes, I believe, have been brought in here within this thirty-five or forty years. The older merchants in Boston can best answer this question. The slaves which were brought here directly from Africa came, for the most part, I believe, in American vessels. But the trade was not generally agreeable to the people, and several openly expressed their disapprobation of it. Judge Lowell about the latter end of the last century published a small tract against it, entitled 'Joseph Sold, Memorial.'"

As has been said above, Dr. Belknap made extensive enquiries of our oldest merchants as well as of others, whose letters are not preserved, and he has given the results of his investigation in the paper noticed above.

against it. A degree of infamy was attached to the characters of those who were employed in it; several of them, in their last hours, bitterly lamented their concern in it."

The distilling of rum was one of the industries of Massachusetts, and continued to be for many years. This article was supplied to most of the other colonies; the Indian trade, the New England and Newfoundland fisheries as well as the African trade consumed it.

Dr. Belknap supposed that Boston was the only sea-port in Massachusetts from which slave-ships sailed. But Dr. Felt has furnished memoranda of a few ships which sailed from Salem, an important commercial port. He notices one in 1763 which sails for Guinea; one in 1773 which had reached the West Indies with slaves from the river Gambia; two in 1785; and one in 1787 are found engaged in this traffic; and in 1791 another arrived in Surinam from the coast of Africa. Visiting the coast of Africa or being employed in the African trade might not necessarily imply that the vessel was a slaver.¹

That these vessels occasionally took their cargoes into the ports of the southern colonies is probable, for I find in the instructions given to the captains of two vessels before sailing on their dismal voyages a clause directing them in certain contingencies to go to Charleston; and Dr. Belknap tells us that the slaves were chiefly sold in the West Indies or in the southern colonies. About the time of the Stamp Act Dr. Belknap says the trade began to decline, and in 1788 it was prohibited by law. This could not have been done, he says, previous to the Revolution as the governors sent hither were instructed not to consent to any acts made for that purpose.

From this review of the evidence, allowing it to weigh against Massachusetts all it will possibly bear, it is certain that the share which that colony had in the planting of slavery in the new world was but a drop in the bucket

¹ *Annals of Salem*, Vol. II., Salem, 1849.

compared with that of England. Nor is this all. I have no wish to draw any invidious comparisions between sister colonies, but I am here compelled to say that Rhode Island was engaged in the slave-trade to a far greater extent than Massachusetts was. We have seen what Dr. Belknap says on this point, and Dr. Samuel Hopkins of Newport, in 1776, in a tract advocating the abolition of slavery,¹ says, "As Rhode Island has been more deeply interested in the slave-trade, and has enslaved more of the poor Africans than any other colony in New England, it has been to the honor of that colony that she has made a law prohibiting the importation of any more slaves."²

If we take into account only the 350,000 slaves estimated to have been brought into the southern colonies of the United States during all the period we have been reviewing, we can imagine how small a part of them could on any probable hypothesis have been supplied by Massachusetts vessels.

We come now to the charge that after slavery in Massachusetts was found not to pay the slaves were sold down south. Here again no proof is offered, and no case is cited. Probably the speaker had no case to cite. The charge is indefinite as to time. When did the people of Massachusetts find that slavery did not pay? Slavery never at any time was profitable here, and white servants were preferred when they could be obtained. I propose now to show what slavery was in Massachusetts, and to see if on any grounds of probability the charge above made could be true.

We have seen when negro slaves were first brought into the colony—in 1637–38. There was never any positive law establishing the institution here. Negro slavery existed then all over the civilized world by virtue of public law or custom. It came into Virginia and into New York, that is, *Manhattan*, before the Massachusetts colony was founded,

¹ A Dialogue, concerning the Slavery of the Africans, etc., Norwich, 1776, p. 57.

² The prohibitory law was not, however, passed till October, 1787.

and into all the other colonies from time to time since, as the tide comes in. Mr. Hurd in his book on "The Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States," I., 225, says:—

"The involuntary servitude of Indians and negroes in the several colonies originated under a law not promulgated by legislation, and rested upon prevalent views of universal jurisprudence, or the *law of nations*, supported by the express or implied authority of the home government."

But in the Massachusetts Body of Liberties, adopted in 1641—the first code of laws—it is provided, that "there shall never be any bond slavery, villanage or captivity amongst us unless it be lawful captives taken in just wars and such strangers as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us." And this law was substantially reënacted three several times, the last time in 1672.¹ Its meaning has been the subject of some controversy, but in view of the above facts there can be little doubt that it was regarded by its authors as a limitation of slavery, and not as an establishment of the right to hold slaves. By its terms there could be but two classes of slaves, prisoners of war and persons sold or purchased. The children of slaves were, therefore, by law, free. I have never seen any contemporary adjudication of this provision of law—and by "contemporary" I mean during the existence of slavery in Massachusetts—but later, in one of those pauper settlement cases which came before the Supreme Court in 1796, the court decided that a child born in Massachusetts of a slave mother was by the law of Massachusetts free.² Still it must be admitted that the common usage in Massachusetts for a long time was to regard the children of slave mothers as slaves in fact.³ Perhaps this was inevitable. The child needed a home and required to be fed and clothed, and as it grew up and

¹ *Mass. Hist. Soc. Col.*, VIII., 231; and the several digests of laws.

² *Littleton v. Tuttle*, 4 Mass. Rep., 123.

³ See Judge Parsons's statement in 1808, in 4 Mass., 123, note, referring to the Littleton case in 1796.

became one of the family of servants it came to be regarded as having the same relation to the family as its mother had, and the protection of its master was thrown round it to preserve it from pauperism and crime. And whatever significance may have been attached to this provision of law at first, it seems in time to have been lost sight of. Governor Dudley reports in 1708 that there were 400 servants in Boston, one-half of whom were born here.¹

Slavery in Massachusetts was different from what it was in the West Indies, or even in the Southern States.² It was probably as mild in its character as could well be considering the material which constituted it. Of course it was a form of slavery—the subjection of one man's will to another man's will. The foundation of slavery, as old as human nature itself, says Dr. Maine in his treatise on Ancient Law, is “the simple wish to use the bodily powers of another person as a means of ministering to one's own ease or pleasure.” What slavery actually was here can be gathered, not so much perhaps by the laws which were enacted to regulate it, as from the knowledge of those who lived among it, and who knew the public sentiment and the customs of society respecting it, and the relations which grew out of them. The cases adjudicated in the courts were rarely reported, but their influence in favor of liberty though silent was sure. In simple and unmitigated slavery, the slave has no rights. In Massachusetts negroes were generally regarded as human beings, who had some rights which white men were bound to respect.

The great lawyer and statesman, Nathan Dane, born in 1752, and living in the midst of slavery here thirty years, and probably knowing many persons whose memory went back to 1708, when there were but 550 slaves in the colony, is an intelligent witness to the *status* of slavery in Massachusetts.

He says:—“The negro or mulatto slave in New Eng-

¹ Felt, Stat. Asso., p. 586.

² See St. George Tucker's Dissertation on Slavery, Philadelphia, 1796, *passim*.

land always had many rights which raised him above the *absolute slave*." The master had no right to his life, that is, if he killed him he was punishable as for killing a free-man; he was liable to his slave's action for beating, wounding, or immoderately chastising him, as much as for immoderately correcting an apprentice, or a child; the slave was capable of holding property, as a devisee or a legatee, as the damages recovered for personal injuries; if any one took the slave away from his master without his consent, the master could not sue in trover, but only as for taking away any other servant. On the whole the slave had the right of property and of life as apprentices had, and the only difference was, "an apprentice is a servant for time, and the slave is a servant for life." A slave, however, could be sold, and in some States he could be taken in execution for his master's debts.¹

Slaves were sometimes admitted to be church members and sometimes served in the militia. They were enlisted in the army in the old French war. They were competent witnesses even in capital trials and in suits of other slaves for freedom. The right to marry was secured to them in 1705 by a statute of the province, and their banns were published like those of white persons. In 1745 a negro slave obtained from the Governor and Council a divorce for his wife's adultery with a white man.²

¹ Dane's Abr., II., 313. Mr. Dane, in treating of Slavery in New England, takes these illustrations, with slight variations, from Reeve's Domestic Relations, p. 340,—to which he refers in the margin of his book—that is, from the chapter headed, "Of Slavery as it once was in Connecticut." Dr. Moore, in his "Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts," p. 100, takes exception to some of these rights claimed, as applied to Massachusetts, and thinks they are not sufficiently fortified by reference to statutes or to judicial decisions. As to *trover*, in 1768 trover had been maintained in Massachusetts for a negro.—Quincy's Rep., Gray's note, 98.

Governor Hutchinson in a letter to Lord Hillsborough, in May, 1771, says, that "slavery by the provincial laws gives no right to the life of the servant, and a slave here is considered as a servant would be who had bound himself for a term of years exceeding the ordinary term of human life; and I do not know that it has been determined he may not have property in goods, notwithstanding he is called a slave."—Moore, p. 132.

² Quincy's Rep., Gray's note and citations on slavery in Massachusetts, p. 30.

Reference has already been made to the opportunities which Dr. Belknap had of knowing what slavery was in Massachusetts. In 1795 he wrote to Judge Tucker of Virginia as follows:—"The condition of our slaves was far from rigorous, no greater labor was exacted of them than of white people. . . . They had always the free enjoyment of the Sabbath as a day of rest. . . . In the maritime towns the negroes served either in families or at mechanical employments; and in either case they fared no worse than other persons of the same class. In the country they lived as well as their masters, and often sat down at the same table in the true style of *republican equality*."¹

The number of slaves in Massachusetts was never large. Under the first charter they were inconsiderable.² Under the province charter there were in 1708, 550; in 1720, 2,000, including a few Indians; in 1735, 2,600; in 1742, 1,514 in Boston; in 1754, 4,489; in 1764-65, 5,779; in 1776, 5,249. The last two items include both slaves and free blacks. In 1790, the number of blacks, by the United States census, was 6,001, which number included, says Mr. Felt, about 200 mixed Indians.³ From these statistics it is reasonable to suppose the number of slaves in Massachusetts never much exceeded 4,500, at any one time, and the greatest proportion they ever bore to the whites was about one to forty or fifty, say one slave to seven or eight families.

Such according to the best evidence now attainable was slavery in Massachusetts. It is difficult to conceive of slavery existing at all in a form less rigorous than that which prevailed here. But even in this mild form it was

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll., IV., 200.

²The statement of a "French Protestant Refugee," in 1689, that every house in Boston has one or two negroes, must be an exaggeration (*Report*, etc., published in Brooklyn, 1868, p. 20). Edward Randolph, who was always extravagant in his statistics relating to Massachusetts, says, writing in 1676, "There are not above 200 slaves in the colony"; and Governor Bradstreet, writing in 1690, reported "about 120 negroes in the colony."

³ Felt, Am. Stat. Asso., I., 208-214; Moore's Notes, p. 150; 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV., 198.

never in harmony with the general sentiment of the people.¹ This appears in many ways. In the first place, but few ever participated in it. Then follow other considerations. We have already noticed the action of the General Court of the colony in 1645 against the crime of kidnapping or man-stealing on the coast of Africa. Then in 1701 Boston instructed her representatives to use their influence in the General Court to have an end put to negroes being slaves, and to encourage the bringing in of white servants. Boston at this time contained not less than three-fourths of all the slaves in the province. From 1755 to 1766 frequent petitions were sent up to the General Court from Boston, Salem, and from other parts of the State for the suppression of slavery. In 1766 John Adams says he was present at the trial of a suit of a negro woman against her master for her liberty, and that he had often heard of such suits before—and we know that from that time forward such suits were frequent, and juries always found for the negro. John Adams said he “never knew a jury by a verdict to determine that a man was a slave.”² In 1771 and twice in 1774 the legislature passed bills to prohibit the importation

¹ It is not to be denied that the negro race, bond or free, was not regarded here as a desirable element of the population. They were generally ignorant and degraded, and required to be looked after and cared for as children, and strict regulations were made to ensure order among them, to see that they should have employment, and to provide for a healthy sanitary condition. Special reference is here made to the Town Records and the Selectmen’s Records of the Town of Boston, printed in the Reports of the Record Commissioners, for the orders adopted to secure these desirable ends. Strangers were sometimes warned to depart, but in this respect white and black fared alike, it being a precaution taken to avoid the contingent liability of supporting paupers. For a like reason a law of the province in 1703 forbade the manumission of a slave unless the master gave bonds to support him if he came to want.

A few years after the abolition of slavery here, in order to prevent an irruption of negroes into the State, the legislature, on the 26 of March, 1788, passed a law requiring all negroes not citizens of any State in the union, but resident here, to depart in two months, under a severe penalty. “The design of this law,” says Dr. Belknap, “is to prevent deserting negroes from resorting hither in hopes to obtain freedom, and then being thrown as a dead weight on this community.”

² 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., III., 401, 402; Hildreth, II., 563–565.

of slaves, both of which failed to receive the assent of the Royal Governor.¹

In 1776, September 17, two slaves taken on board an English prize ship were brought into Salem and ordered to be sold, but the General Court forbade the sale and ordered such prisoners to be treated like all others; and the House resolved "that the selling and enslaving of the human species is a direct violation of the natural rights alike vested in them by their Creator, and utterly inconsistent with the avowed principles on which this, and the other States have carried on their struggle for liberty."²

This public sentiment against slavery at last became so strong that it brought about its abolition. It was largely stimulated by the controversy with Great Britain, at which time the whole subject of freedom was opened. John

¹ Several attempts were made in Massachusetts to abolish slavery by legislation, and petitions were presented to the General Court from time to time asking for its abolition; several of these came from the negroes themselves. In June, 1777, the question again came up before the legislature and a committee of the house was chosen to prepare a letter to the Congress sitting at Philadelphia on the subject and report it to the House. They say, "This question has at different times for many years past been a subject of debate in former houses, without any decision on the main principle, and although they have generally appeared as individuals convinced of the rectitude of the measure, nothing further has been done than to have a Bill before them, which after some debate, from various circumstantial obstacles and embarrassments, has subsided. The last House resumed this question in consequence of a petition from a number of Africans, and ordered a Bill to be brought in, which after one reading was referred over to this House, and is now before us, and has been considered in a first and second reading. Convinced of the justice of the measure, we are restrained from passing it only from an apprehension that our brethren in the other colonies should conceive there was an impropriety in our determining on a question which may in its nature and operation be of extensive influence without previously consulting your Honors. We therefore have ordered the Bill to lie, and ask the attention of your Honors to this matter, that, if consistent with the union and harmony of the United States, we may follow the dictates of our own understandings and feelings, at the same time assuring your Honors that we have such a sacred regard to the union and harmony of the United States as to conceive ourselves under obligations to refrain from every measure that should have a tendency to injure that union which is the basis and foundation of our defence and happiness." — Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., X., 332, 333. After the reading of this letter it was "ordered to lie," and the records are thereafter silent respecting it.

² Moore's *Notes*, p. 148, *et seq.*; Felt's *Salem*, II., 278; Washburn's *Lecture*, Lowell Inst. Course, p. 210.

Adams says they talked about "the rights of mankind," and afterwards omitted the *kind*. Some masters voluntarily liberated their slaves, and some slaves claimed their liberty in the courts, and by their counsel pleaded their rights as the King's subjects; that by the law of England no man could be deprived of his liberty but by the judgment of his peers. He claimed the common law right, which was ignoring wholly the civil law on which slavery rested. And Judge Dana told Dr. Belknap, as I infer from a note of the latter, that on some occasions the plea was, that though the slavery of parents be admitted yet no disability of that kind could descend to children.¹ This would seem to be a survival of the rule of limitation announced in the Body of Liberties. But such judgments or opinions could have had no legal effect beyond the immediate case before the court. I have already quoted the remark of John Adams, that he never knew a case in which the jury found against the negro.

The slight hold which slavery had upon Massachusetts about the period of the Revolutionary War, and at the time the Constitution of the State was adopted, in 1780, was wholly loosened by the judicial decision in the well-known case of Quork Walker, three years later, in which reference was made to the now celebrated clause in the Bill of Rights to the new constitution of the State. But it is a noteworthy fact that the arguments of counsel in favor of the slave in that case, in one of the trials, as per brief of Levi Lincoln, printed by me a few years ago in 5 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., III., 438, barely alluded to the Constitution, but base their pleas almost wholly on what we now call the higher law doctrine—that there was never any law in the State establishing slavery, and that all laws against natural rights are void. And Judge Cushing's charge and opinion in the final suit before the Supreme Judicial Court are much the same.²

¹ Belknap to Judge Tucker as above.

² Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., XIII., 294.

What the immediate practical effect of this decision was upon the master and slave we know pretty well. That many slaves remained with their masters is certain. The decision was, no doubt, generally welcomed, and what slaves wished to leave did so.

Dr. Belknap tells us of the condition of the liberated slaves. Many of those in the country who left their masters came to the seaport towns. Often their fate was a hard one, and physically their last condition was worse than the first.

The foregoing statement of what slavery was in Massachusetts and how it ended, is nearly conclusive evidence of the falsity of the charge we are considering. But this is not all. Dr. Belknap tells us that "for the negro to be sold to the West Indies or to Carolina was the highest punishment that could be inflicted or threatened."¹

The horror with which the kidnapping of negroes was regarded, that is the decoying of them out of the State for sale down south, or in the West Indies, was shown in a case which occurred in the month of February, 1788. One Avery, a native of Connecticut, by the assistance of another fellow, decoyed three unsuspecting black men on board a vessel in Boston harbor, and sent them down into the hold to work. While thus employed the vessel set sail and went to sea, having been previously cleared for Martinico. Governor Hancock and Mr. L'Etombe, the French consul, at once wrote letters to the governors of all the islands in the West Indies in favor of the negroes. The men were offered for sale at the Danish island of St. Bartholomew. They told their story publicly and the governor of the island prevented the sale. They were liberated and arrived at Boston on the 29th of July following, which was a day of jubilee, says Dr. Belknap, not only among their countrymen, but among all the friends of justice and humanity.²

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV., 200.

² Dr. Belknap in 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV., 204, 205.

Advantage was taken of this affair to renew the application to the legislature

What a singular phenomenon would be presented of a community, which abolished slavery because they believed it was wrong, and then turned round and sold their slaves into a worse bondage.

But the census refutes the story. If the negroes were run down south, they came back again to be counted. I have already cited the facts of the census. In 1776, seven years before the abolition of slavery, there were 5,249 blacks in the colony. In 1790 the United States census finds 6,001 colored persons here, which number includes some 200 mixed Indians.¹ Here they are, and here they lived and died.

It is not impossible that there has been, here and there, an isolated case of a slave being sold to go south, but that does not sustain the charge. Crimes are committed in every community. "There are traditions of slavery and slave-holding times lingering in many families and villages in Massachusetts. Slavery, its incidents and evils are discussed in town histories, sermons and other writings, but

for the abolition of the slave-trade, that is, to prohibit any citizen of the State from pursuing the business. The colored population too joined in the petition, and Dr. Belknap and other clergymen lent their influence. An act was passed March 20, 1788, "to prevent the slave-trade, and granting relief to the families of such unhappy persons as may be kidnapped or decoyed away from this Commonwealth." It was enacted "that no citizen, residing within this Commonwealth shall, for himself or any other person, either as master, factor, supercargo, owner, or hirer in whole or in part, of any vessel, directly or indirectly, import or transport, or buy, or sell, or receive on board his or their vessel, with intent to cause to be imported or transported any of the inhabitants of any state or kingdom in Africa, as slaves, or servants for term of years, on penalty of fifty pounds for every person so received on board . . . and two hundred pounds for every vessel fitted out with such intent . . . and all insurance made on such vessels shall be void." 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV., 202, 203. Dr. Belknap, in March, 1790, speaks of a person, who, to evade the laws of the State had gone to France "to fit out his ship for the detested business." He had begged a copy of Clarkson's Essay to send to this man, hoping it might "serve to gall his conscience a little," and some time or other "to bring him to serious recollection." 5 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., III., 216.

¹I do not refer above to the census returns of 1784, giving 4,377 blacks, nor to those of 1786, giving 4,371 blacks, because Mr. Felt says these returns are made without allowances for such "as may have been either deficient or not made at all." (*Statist. Asso.*, I., 214.)

after careful examination and inquiry," says an intelligent and careful investigator of this subject, "I have been able to find but one instance of selling slaves to go south. In Wilbraham, a remote town nearly bordering on the State of Connecticut, there were five slaves at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, in 1780, and two of these, it is said, were decoyed by their masters into Connecticut and thence on board a vessel at Hartford, which dropped down the river and they were never more heard of in Wilbraham." The story, from the position of the parties involved, seems almost incredible, but the particulars are told by Dr. R. P. Stebbins in his "Historical Address," at the centennial celebration of the town of Wilbraham in June, 1863. I had heard of this affair, and have searched for other cases. I have in my own library a large number of town histories and centennial addresses, including that of Dr. Stebbins, referred to above, and I have examined and caused to be examined for me, altogether, some one hundred and fifty town histories of this State for this purpose; but the case of Wilbraham stands alone.¹

For the Council,

CHARLES DEANE.

¹Since this paper was read before this Society I have had a favorable opportunity of examining further into the truth of this Wilbraham story, and it seems to me very doubtful. The author of the address was certainly mistaken in some of his alleged facts, and I cannot but think that the main story — that the two negroes referred to were sold down south — is not true.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society here-with submits his semi-annual report of receipts and disbursements, for the six months ending October 1, 1886.

The Finance Committee has directed the Treasurer to transfer to each fund, from the income of the investments, two and one-half per cent. on the amount of each fund as it stood April 1, 1886. After doing this there remains to the credit of income \$443.37.

A detailed statement of the investments of the funds of the Society, showing the par and market value of the various stocks and bonds is given as a part of this report.

The total of the investments and cash on hand October 1, 1886, was \$102,472.36, divided among the several funds as follows :

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$39,795.48
The Collection and Research Fund,.....	17,704.15
The Bookbinding Fund,.....	6,441.92
The Publishing Fund,.....	19,474.76
The Isaac Davis Book Fund,.....	1,026.74
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	2,398.54
The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	1,155.87
The Salisbury Building Fund,.....	4,863.90
The Alden Fund,.....	1,065.79
The Tenney Fund,.....	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,.....	1,152.55
The George Chandler Fund,.....	508.17
Premium Account,.....	851.12
Income Account,.....	443.37
Total,	\$102,472.36

The income of the Tenney Fund for the past six months has been transferred to the Librarian's and General Fund.

In his last report the Treasurer called the attention of the Society to the Salisbury Building Fund, and the fact

that it was nearly exhausted. He now has the pleasure of informing the Society that Vice-President Salisbury has within the past few days given his check for five thousand dollars to be placed to the credit of this fund which was founded by his honored father. This generous gift of Mr. Salisbury will provide for the care and maintenance of the building for a long time to come.

The cash on hand, included in the following statement is \$15,753.78. The Finance Committee have made arrangements for the safe investment of \$10,000 of this amount with a mortgage of real estate as security.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the six months ending Oct. 1, 1886, is as follows :

DR.

1886. April 1. Balance of cash as per last report.....	\$12,290.96
" Oct. 1. Received for interest and dividends to date	2,420.30
" " Received for annual assessments.....	195.00
" " Received from sale of publications.....	80.50
" " Contribution to Salisbury Building Fund..	5,000.00
" " Cash for mortgage note paid.....	<u>5,000.00</u>
Total.....	\$24,986.76

CR.

By Salaries to Oct. 1, 1886.....	\$1,619.98
Expense of repairs on the building.....	301.22
Expense of publishing semi-annual "Proceedings,"...	246.16
Loans on real estate security.....	4,700.00
Deposited in savings banks.....	1,052.97
Expense of binding newspapers.....	45.70
Books purchased	81.59
Bank stock purchased	798.00
E. M. Barton, Librarian, sundry expenses.....	103.99
Incidental expenses.....	60.87
Fuel.....	222.50
Total	\$ 9,232.98
Balance in cash Oct. 1, 1886.....	<u>15,753.78</u>
Total.....	\$24,986.76

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, April 1, 1886.....	\$39,932.62
Income to Oct. 1, 1886	998.30
Transferred from Tenney Fund.....	125.00
	<u>\$41,055.92</u>

Paid for salaries	\$919.99
Paid for coal.....	222.50
Incidental expenses.....	117.95
	<hr/>
	\$1,260.44
1886, Oct. 1. Amount of Fund.....	\$39,795.48
<i>The Collection and Research Fund.</i>	
Balance April 1, 1886.....	\$17,921.49
Income to Oct. 1, 1886.....	448.03
	<hr/>
	\$18,369.52
Paid part of salaries of Librarian and Assistants, · \$616.66	
Paid for books, etc.....	48.71
	<hr/>
	\$665.37
1886, Oct. 1. Amount of Fund.....	\$17,704.15
<i>The Bookbinding Fund.</i>	
Balance April 1, 1886.....	\$6,410.70
Income to Oct. 1, 1886.....	160.25
	<hr/>
	\$6,570.95
Expense of binding newspapers and periodicals.....	129.03
	<hr/>
1886, Oct. 1. Amount of Fund.....	\$6,441.92
<i>The Publishing Fund.</i>	
Balance April 1, 1886.....	\$19,161.40
Income to Oct. 1, 1886.....	479.02
Publications sold.....	80.50
	<hr/>
	\$19,720.92
Paid for printing "Proceedings.".....	246.16
	<hr/>
1886, Oct. 1. Amount of Fund	\$19,474.76
<i>The Isaac Davis Book Fund.</i>	
Balance April 1, 1886.....	\$1,609.47
Income to Oct. 1, 1886.....	40.22
	<hr/>
	\$1,649.69
Paid for books.....	22.95
	<hr/>
1886, Oct. 1. Amount of Fund.....	\$1,626.74
<i>The Lincoln Legacy Fund.</i>	
Balance April 1, 1886.....	\$2,340.04
Income to Oct. 1, 1886.....	58.50
	<hr/>
	\$2,398.54
<i>The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.</i>	
Balance April 1, 1886.....	\$1,165.90
Income to Oct. 1, 1886.....	29.15
	<hr/>
	\$1,195.05
Paid for local histories.....	39.18
	<hr/>
1886, Oct. 1. Amount of Fund.....	\$1,155.87

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance April 1, 1886.....	\$161.10
Income to Oct. 1, 1886.....	4.02
Contribution to Fund by Stephen Salisbury	5,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$5,165.12
Paid for repairs on building.....	301.22
	<hr/>
1886, Oct. 1. Balance of Fund.....	\$4,863.90

The Alden Fund.

Balance April 1, 1886.....	\$1,030.04
Income to Oct. 1, 1886.....	25.76
1886, Oct. 1. Amount of Fund.....	\$1,055.79

The Tenney Fund.

Balance April 1, 1886.....	\$5,000.00
Income to Oct. 1, 1886.....	125.00
	<hr/>
	\$5,125.00
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund.....	125.00
	<hr/>
1886, Oct. 1. Balance of Fund.....	\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance April 1, 1886.....	\$1,141.69
Income to Oct. 1, 1886.....	28.52
	<hr/>
	\$1,170.21
Paid for books.....	17.68
	<hr/>
1886, Oct. 1. Balance of Fund.....	\$1,152.55

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance April 1, 1886.....	\$495.67
Income to Oct. 1, 1886.....	12.50
	<hr/>
1886, Oct. 1. Amount of Fund.....	\$508.17
	<hr/>
Total of the Twelve Funds.....	\$101,177.87
Balance to credit of Premium Account.....	851.12
Balance to credit of Income Account.....	443.37
	<hr/>
Oct. 1, 1886. Total.....	\$102,472.36

The following statement shows the investment of the various funds, giving the par and market value of the stocks and bonds October 1, 1886, also the amount of cash on hand.

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	Stocks.	Par Value.	Market Value.
6	Central National Bank, Worcester	\$ 600.00	\$ 855.00
22	City National Bank, Worcester.....	2,200.00	2,926.00
10	Citizens' National Bank, Worcester.....	1,000.00	1,300.00
4	Boston National Bank, Boston.....	400.00	484.00

6 Fitchburg National Bank, Fitchburg.....	600.00	900.00
2 Massachusetts National Bank, Boston.....	500.00	506.25
32 National Bank of Commerce, Boston.....	8,200.00	4,192.00
6 National Bank of North America, Boston.....	600.00	636.00
5 North National Bank, Boston.....	500.00	675.00
24 Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester.....	2,400.00	2,888.00
46 Shawmut National Bank, Boston	4,800.00	5,474.00
33 Webster National Bank, Boston.....	8,300.00	8,432.00
31 Worcester National Bank, Worcester	8,100.00	4,185.00
30 Northern (N. H.) Railroad Co.....	8,000.00	8,810.00
5 Worcester Gas Light Co.....	500.00	800.00

Bonds, Etc.

Boston & Albany R. R. bonds (7s)	7,000.00	8,250.00
Central Pacific R. R. bonds.....	6,000.00	6,915.00
Eastern Railroad bonds.....	1,000.00	1,270.00
Kansas City, Fort Scott and Gulf R. R. bonds.....	4,800.00	5,117.00
Worcester & Nashua R. R. (due 1887) bonds.....	5,000.00	5,025.00
City of Chicago bond (due 1888).....	1,000.00	1,040.00
Notes secured by mortgage of real estate.....	32,200.00	32,200.00
Deposited in Worcester savings banks.....	8,718.58	8,718.58
Cash on interest in national bank.....	15,758.78	15,758.78

\$102,472.36 \$111,152.61

WORCESTER, October 16, 1886.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE,

Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 1, 1886, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, stated to be on hand, is accounted for.

CHARLES A. CHASE.

WILLIAM A. SMITH.

WORCESTER, October 16, 1886.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

This present report covers six months of unusual activity, unexampled or remarkable occurrences in the history of the Library. The daily routine has not been unlike that of other periods, but in connection with it special work has been done with more or less success in several new directions. The plan for the distribution of our duplicate newspapers outlined in your Librarian's last report, has been carried out, and as a result we are no longer concerned about an over-weighted newspaper attic. At least one-half of this duplicate material has been sent away on exchange wherever it will be the most useful. In this way the Library of Congress, for instance, has received from us many city copies of American newspapers, while various New England college and historical society libraries have filled in a few of their local newspaper gaps from the same source. That both our desire to dispose of the surplus of the material and at least a partial knowledge of what we have to offer may appear together, a rough alphabetical list of the larger lots remaining is given.

Newspapers. Advertiser, Centinel, Christian Register, Courier, Gazette, Journal, Mercury, Messenger, New England Farmer, Palladium, Patriot, and Whig.

Periodicals. Chronicle, Harper's Weekly, Herald, Independent, New Age, Nation, Post, Round Table, Scientific American, Standard, Times, Tribune, and World.

Books. Illustrated News.

See *Journal*.

See *Magazines*.

Washington: Intelligencer.

Worcester: Gazette, Home Journal, National *Aegis*, Palladium, Press, and Spy.

Correspondence in relation to this duplicate material is solicited, and the suggestion ventured that such an opportunity is not often likely to occur.

And here it seems an important question to consider whether newspapers shall be preserved, in the interest of American history, and if so what is the duty of this Society and that of kindred institutions in relation thereto. To the first query we may hear answers varying from an absolute no on the one hand to an unqualified yes on the other; and they may come from persons of equal intelligence. Without undertaking to state the views of either party, is there not a middle ground which we may safely take, and from which we—as an American society founded by an American editor and printer—may urge the preservation of at least carefully selected representative newspapers? That ground is, I submit, their importance not only on account of the multitude of facts they contain but because of the varied treatment which the same subject receives as viewed from different sides. May not a judicial mind of a later and calmer period thus have at hand party statements which he may wisely examine, carefully weigh and fairly use? If, then, the importance of this great work is admitted, the question arises, how shall it best be accomplished? It will generally be conceded that the collection in the National Library at Washington should be the largest and broadest of all; and doubtless in the new library building Mr. Spofford will see that its rapid growth is abundantly provided for. Our own contribution to that end has already been mentioned, and the example may well be followed. Two very important factors in an attempt to solve the newspaper problem, namely, money and space, are there most likely to be found.

We are justly proud of our well-filled newspaper room,

though comparatively little has been added to the invaluable eighteenth and early nineteenth century collection as left by Dr. Thomas. It should be remembered that the large unbound portion of this collection has been bound at the charge of the Bookbinding Fund. Is it too much to hope that a newspaper fund, bearing some honored name, will some day be established, and that by its judicious use gaps even in the revolutionary and pre-revolutionary period, as well as during the war of the rebellion, will be filled? Our newspaper files begin with the first number of the first continued newspaper in America—that of the Boston News-Letter of Monday, April 24, 1704—and end with this morning's issues. Is it not possible that our special mission in this direction is the perfecting of our early files, or perhaps as well the carrying forward our collection not indefinitely but through the second century of American newspaper life, say to the opening of the twentieth century? And yet we are constantly met by the querist who wonders, as we have so fair a start, why we cannot "go on forever," and asks "who will undertake the great work if you do not?" Perhaps the newspaper collections of the future are to be arranged and preserved by States, each State placing its own leading newspapers in charge of its State librarian or in the absence of such an official, in the care of the State historical society. In any event each city or town provided with a public library should preserve in binding its own newspapers, and it would be well also to send files to the State library or the State historical society and the National Library. In the absence of a library in the city or town of publication and the existence of one at the capital city they should most certainly there be preserved. The advantage of having these authorities at home is suggested by the fact that we have just finished transcribing from an Eastern city's newspapers of 1780-1800, in our possession, all the local musical and dramatic material therein contained

for use in preparing a chapter of the history of that city. Senator Sumner's last visit to the library was on a fruitless search—while preparing his works for the press—for one of his stirring addresses reported in but one of his city papers, and that not preserved where printed. And so once more your Librarian earnestly pleads for the preservation of representative American newspapers, either by the nation, by States, by municipalities or by private corporations. Since writing the foregoing I have read in Mr. S. N. D. North's Census Report on the Newspaper and Periodical Press of the United States—to which it will be remembered we contributed as Appendix D, a list of the bound files of our American newspapers—the following pertinent paragraph from the pen of Mr. Ainsworth R. Spofford, Librarian of Congress, and thus by virtue of his office custodian of by far the largest collection of newspapers in America. He says:

“While no one library, however large and comprehensive, has either the space or means to accumulate a tithe of the periodicals that swarm from a productive press, there are valid reasons why more attention should be paid by librarians to the careful preservation of a wise selection from all this current literature. The modern newspaper and other periodical publications afford the truest, the fullest and, on the whole, the most impartial images of the age we live in that can be derived from any single source. Taken together, they afford the richest material for the historian or the student of polities, of society, of literature and of civilization in its various aspects. What precious memorials of the day even the advertisements and brief paragraphs of the newspapers a century ago afford us! While in a field so vast it is impossible for any one library to be more than a gleaner, no such institution can afford to neglect the collection and preservation of at least some of the more important newspapers from year to year. A public library is not for one generation only but it is for all time. Opportunities once neglected of securing the current periodicals of any age in continuation and complete form seldom or never occur. The principle of selection

will, of course, vary in different libraries and localities.
* * * * *

This collection should embrace not only newspapers, magazines, etc., but a complete collection of all casual pamphlets, reports of municipal governments, with their subdivisions, reports of charitable or benevolent societies, schools, etc., and even the prospectuses, bulletins, etc., of real-estate agents and tradesmen. Every library should have its scrap-books (or series of them) for preserving the political broadsides and fugitive pieces of the day which in any way reflect or illustrate the spirit of the times or the condition of the people. These unconsidered trifles, commonly swept out and thrown away as worthless, if carefully preserved and handed down to the future, will be found to form precious memorials of a bygone age. * * *

And that library which shall the most sedulously gather and preserve such fugitive memorials of the life of the people among which it is situated, will be found to have best subserved its purpose to the succeeding generation of men."

These are weighty words from high authority, and no apology is offered for quoting them at length.

Our book of accessions shows the following additions to the library and cabinet since our last report: By gift four hundred and sixty-six books, thirty-eight hundred and seventy-nine pamphlets, one bound and one hundred and twenty-six unbound volumes of newspapers, seven framed and two unframed engravings, seven manuscript volumes, six photographs, four maps, four arrow-heads, two drawings, two coins, a Mexican bridle, an historic cane, a lottery ticket, confederate currency and postage stamps. By exchange three hundred and twenty-two books and four hundred and eleven pamphlets. From the binder forty-seven volumes of periodicals; making a total of seven hundred and ninety-eight books, forty-two hundred and ninety pamphlets, one hundred and twenty volumes of newspapers, *et cetera*. The sources of increase are two hundred and ten in number, as follows: From forty-three members, ninety-one persons not members and seventy-six societies

and institutions. It seems best to make a very few special acknowledgments under each of these heads. Hon. Horace Davis has sent his friendly tribute to Mr. Alexander S. Taylor, who, with Mr. Davis, for many years represented this Society on the Pacific coast. The difficulty in procuring the facts desired for his paper was so great that the material, though intended for the Council report of October, 1884, was first printed in the *Overland Monthly* of May, 1886. An exhaustive list of Mr. Taylor's works is appended to the paper. Hon. P. Emory Aldrich's gift of temperance literature is large and fills many gaps in a department not over supplied, at a time when material for the history of the temperance reformation in all its phases is much sought for. Receipts of this class have not been so large as might have been expected when we remember that the Society has had some earnest advocates of the cause among its earlier and later members. Vice-President Salisbury's donation of historical material in print and manuscript, is large and includes the ledgers of Messrs. S. and S. Salisbury, 1757-1783, and of Daniel Waldo, 1820-1844. He has answered trans-atlantic and other calls for his Yucatecan reprints, and the publishing fund has thereby been increased. Hon. J. Carson Brevoort has made a further addition to his valuable Japanese collection. Mr. J. Fletcher Williams, librarian of the Minnesota Historical Society, has added to our very complete set of the territorial and State documents of Minnesota, the rare Revised Statutes compiled by Wilkinson and printed in 1851, copies of which, he assures us, are "scarcer than honest politicians." William Harden, Esq., has set an excellent example by using his camera for our benefit in the photographing of an interesting specimen of pottery now in his possession. It is an Indian burial urn found on the island of Ossabaw, near the coast of Georgia. Henry W. Taft, Esq., has not only presented his Judicial History of Berkshire, but as one of the Directors of the Pittsfield Athenæum has trans-

ferred to us a box of early publications. We have to acknowledge from William S. Barton, Esq., about twenty volumes of historical, scientific, political and educational pamphlets. Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull has presented a copy of the Memorial History of Hartford County, Connecticut, of which he was the editor and to which he has in various ways contributed. It is perhaps enough to say that it is largely patterned after the Memorial History of Boston. Others of our members have been called and will be called to like important work, and thus the body be duly honored by the good deeds of its members. Mention is made of the receipt of your Librarian's short paper upon the First Conference of American Librarians, read before the American Library Association at Milwaukee in July last, simply that the fact may be indexed in the Proceedings of a society which had so large an interest in it. The convention was held in New York in October, 1851, twenty-five years before the birth of the present energetic association. It is to be hoped that the beautiful tribute paid at Milwaukee by President Poole to one of America's ablest and most genial librarians, the late Mr. Lloyd P. Smith of the Philadelphia Library Company, may be followed by discriminating sketches of other deceased members of the convention of '51. Mrs. Samuel H. Colton has made an important addition to our already large collection of Horticultural periodicals; and one of our younger donors has brought us from Michigan a few choice specimens of Indian arrow-heads picked up by him on one of Tecumseh's camping-grounds. Mrs. Elijah Dudley has, at our request, sent her imperfect war file of the *Worcester Transcript* to aid us in completing our own. Two large, miscellaneous lots of pamphlets and newspapers have come to us, one from the family of the late Hon. Peter C. Brooks, and the other from the family of the late William W. Green, Esq., through Hon. Andrew H. Green of New York and Mr. Martin Green of Worcester. We have

received copies of the centennial number of the *Hampshire Gazette*, Northampton, Mass., from Mr. Henry S. Gere, the proprietor. To this interesting issue we were able to contribute the third number for reproduction. No copy of the first number is known to be in existence, and our number two is slightly soiled. George S. Taft, Esq., has placed in the library a copy of his compilation of Senate Contested Election Cases, the material for which work was chiefly drawn from our shelves; and Rev. Samuel May has not forgotten to forward his supply of college and benevolent society pamphlets with which he has favored us for many years. Through the liberality of Mr. William A. Banister we add another orderly book to our collection. It covers the period from July 29, 1775, to January 12, 1776, and the entries were made at Roxbury and Cambridge. The catalogue of the Boston Public Latin School, received from the Rev. Henry F. Jenks—the compiler of the catalogue and author of the Historical Sketch—will be of constant value to us for biographical purposes.

We acknowledge the annual reports of the Brooklyn Library—for a much longer period known as the Mercantile Library Association—and of the newly christened Buffalo Library for long years called the Young Men's Library of Buffalo. In heartily commending these changes of names, we are reminded of the importance of properly naming institutions as well as persons, places and things. We have good authority for believing that "a good name is better than great riches," and this may be true in the long run, of a library. The great library of a great city or town, unless privately endowed and named, should—other things being equal—bear the name of the place where it is located. If "Public" can be added thereto, so much the better. Is it not partly, at least, for this reason that, for example, the Chicago Public Library was for many years more widely known than the St. Louis Public School Library, now known as the St. Louis Public

Library? How little "The Library of the Surgeon-General's Office" would indicate its size and value but for Dr. Billings's great catalogue of it, and how imperfectly "The Library of Congress" suggests our National Library, or, as its librarian has already been quoted as calling it "The Library of the United States." As "The Library of the General Court" has entirely given place to the "Massachusetts State Library," so "The Library of Congress" should be known by some name more clearly indicating its national character when transferred to its new quarters. That our members of this national society may need to help on this desirable change appears from the fact that boxes sent by us to the National Library remained in the freight house until the rail-road company was notified that they were intended for the Congressional Library. While endorsing the quaint saying in the Wits Academy of 1635, that "As in sweet oyle, ointment and wines; so in books, antiquity doth add estimation and price," may we not admit that in so far as even our own name suggests to the careless that we do not collect works of the present, it may be misleading.

We have been informed, though not officially, that part four of the American Library of the late George Brinley is nearly ready for sale by Leavitt and Company of New York. For this and the final sale we have to our credit an unexpended balance of about one thousand dollars. At the suggestion of our Treasurer, the accumulated files of newspapers have been left unbound, that the Bookbinding Fund might be allowed to increase. The putting our magazine literature into covers as soon as volumes are completed, is undoubtedly a more expensive way than to buy bound sets for our periodical alcoves, but the condition of the Collection and Research Fund has not encouraged such an expenditure as would be required for that purpose.

Our continued interest in the effort of the Department of the Interior to gather and redistribute United States

public documents has been still further shown by the sending for that purpose of nearly a thousand additional volumes from our duplicate room,—a total contribution of nearly three thousand volumes. It was my privilege also to introduce a resolution at the Library Conference of 1886, which committed the Association to the principle of redistribution as well as to an approval of this particular plan which Mr. Ames is working so successfully. It is of course well known that many village and private libraries are burdened with this government material which now that it is to be made permanently useful might properly be returned to the place whence it came, that it may be sent where it is needed. Mr. John G. Ames, Superintendent of the Document Room, United States Department of the Interior, will supply free transportation labels, and post-masters will furnish mail bags. We would gladly act as forwarding agents, especially for our members and correspondents, but under the circumstances the double handling does not appear to be necessary. Your individual interest in this matter is urged, as it is really of national importance. Having been strongly impressed with the easy and wide adaptability of this plan of redistribution, and the possibility of grafting it upon our exchange system, and feeling moreover that we are in a truly national sense a "society for the diffusion of knowledge," I have ventured to take for you the lead in this larger and more inclusive movement. It has so far been a labor of great satisfaction and our returns, while not always immediate, are sure to be abundant. Our associate, General Francis A. Walker, President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, but echoes the sentiments expressed by various States, municipalities, societies, colleges, schools, etc., when he writes that "the scheme you have undertaken to forward is a most useful one. In the present case it has given us the use of pamphlets greatly desired."

Mr. Colton's well-earned and much-needed leave of

absence during the months of May and June allowed him a hasty trip to England and Scotland, which was alike profitable to himself and to the Society. Let me add in closing that such a measure of success as your Librarian may have achieved in the administration of library affairs, is largely due to his faithful assistants and to the Library Committee of the Council.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Donors and Donations.

FROM MEMBERS.

- ALDRICH**, Hon. P. EMORY, Worcester.—Eighty-nine temperance pamphlets; and files of "Law and Order," 1885–86, and "National Temperance Advocate," 1878–86.
- AMORY**, Col. THOMAS C., Boston.—His "Life of Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, Baronet. His English and American Ancestors."
- BARTON**, Mr. EDMUND M., Worcester.—His paper on "The First Conference of American Librarians"; one book; fifteen pamphlets; and "St. John's Echo," in continuation.
- BARTON**, WILLIAM S., Esq., Worcester.—Thirty-two books; and fifty pamphlets.
- BREVOORT**, Hon. J. CARSON, Brooklyn, N. Y.—"A Manual of Chinese Running-Hand Writing, especially as it is used in Japan."
- BROCK**, Mr. ROBERT A., Richmond, Va.—His papers upon "The Portrait of the Earl of Chatham"; and on "Coal and Iron."
- CAMPBELL**, Hon. JAMES V., Detroit, Mich.—Report of the Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan, Vol. VII.
- CLARKE**, Mr. ROBERT, Cincinnati, O.—A sketch of the Woman's Art Association of Cincinnati.
- DAVIS**, Mr. ANDREW MCF., Cambridge.—His "Indian Games: an historical research."
- DAVIS**, Hon. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Thirty-three pamphlets.
- DAVIS**, Hon. HORACE, San Francisco, Cal.—His sketch of Alexander S. Taylor; and two pamphlets.
- DEXTER**, Prof. FRANKLIN B., New Haven, Conn.—"Addresses at the Induction of Professor Timothy Dwight as President of Yale College."
- EDES**, Mr. HENRY H., Charlestown.—Three books; one hundred and two pamphlets; three maps; the Daily Commercial Bulletin; and the Commercial and Financial Chronicle, in continuation.
- GILMAN**, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—His address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University, July 1, 1886.
- GREEN**, Hon. SAMUEL A., Boston.—His Groton Historical Series XIII.-XV.; his report as General Agent *pro tem.* of the Peabody Education Fund; three books; sixty-one pamphlets; and the American Journal of Numismatics, as issued.
- GREEN**, Mr. SAMUEL S., Worcester.—His annual report as Librarian of the Free Public Library of Worcester; and his paper upon Aaron Bancroft.

- HALE, Rev. EDWARD E., D.D., Boston.—His Memorial of Rev. Rufus Ellis, D.D.; and "Lend a Hand," as issued.
- HARDEN, WILLIAM, Esq., Savannah, Ga.—Photograph of an Indian burial urn.
- HITCHCOCK, Prof. EDWARD, Amherst.—His Twenty-fifth Annual Report as Professor of Physical Education and Hygiene in Amherst College.
- HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F., Worcester.—One book; four hundred and fifty pamphlets; five photographs; one map; one engraving; and the Official Records of the Rebellion, as issued.
- HOYT, Mr. ALBERT H., Boston.—His brochure on "The Name Columbia."
- HUNTINGTON, WILLIAM R., D.D., New York.—His "The Book Annexed: its Critics and its Prospects"; "The Book annexed to the Report of the Joint Committee on the Book of Common Prayer"; and the "Notification to the Dioceses of the Proposed Change in the Prayer Book, 1883–1886."
- JONES, Hon. CHARLES C., Jr., Augusta, Ga.—His Biographical Sketch of the Honorable John Habersham of Georgia; and his Tribute to General Robert Toombs.
- MOORE, GEORGE H., LL.D., New York.—His Notes on the History of the Old State House in Boston, second paper; and Bandelier's "Romantic School in American Archaeology."
- NELSON, Hon. THOMAS L., Worcester.—Lincoln's History of Worcester.
- PAINE, Rev. GEORGE S., Worcester.—Seven framed, colored lithographs; and a parcel of business broadsides.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Esq., Worcester.—One hundred and fifty pamphlets; the Spy, Gazette, Boston Journal and miscellaneous newspapers, in continuation.
- PEET, Rev. STEPHEN D., Clinton, Wis.—His American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, as issued.
- PERRY, Right Rev. WM. STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Iowa.—His Episcopal address of 1886; his "Service of Song in the House of the Lord"; three books; and the Iowa Churchman, as issued.
- POOLE, WILLIAM F., LL.D., Chicago, Ill.—His thirteenth annual report as Librarian of the Chicago Public Library; and The Dial, as issued, containing articles by him.
- PUTNAM, Mr. FREDERICK W., Curator, Cambridge.—The eighteenth and nineteenth Annual Reports of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum.
- REYNOLDS, Rev. GRINDALL, Concord.—His "Concord Fight, April 19, 1775"; and his "Story of a Concord Farm and its Owners."
- RICE, Hon. WILLIAM W., Worcester.—One book.
- SALISBURY, STEPHEN, Esq., Worcester.—Sixty-eight books, chiefly archaeological and historical; one hundred and sixty-eight pamphlets; five account books, 1767–1844; and fifteen files of newspapers.
- SMITH, WILLIAM A., Esq., Worcester.—The Weekly Underwriter, in continuation.
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ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN YUCATAN.

BY EDWARD H. THOMPSON.

As I look over the result of archæological work, this fact forces itself upon me: how hard it is for an investigator, with a pet theory, to avoid moulding the facts to suit his theory rather than to shape his theory to suit the facts. In my researches among these ruins, I shall try to make the discovery of the truth my only object, and if in this pursuit I am led into false premises, into ideas conflicting with facts, I shall most certainly endeavor to put such ideas aside.

In this paper I purpose to confine myself to observations upon the ruins in general, leaving descriptions of special objects of archæological interest for the future.

No one, however skeptical, can look upon these monuments of a lost race without amazement, not at their artistic character, although this is of no mean order, but because of their massiveness, and, as they tower above the forest, the grandeur of their appearance. These edifices are not generally constructed of large stones, like the ruins of the ancient East, but of a composition of lime and small fragments of rock called by the Mayas "sac-cab." Upon this composite backing, cubes of stone are then laid, thus giving the buildings the appearance of solid stone structures, when in reality they are in many cases simply stone-plated as it were. Upon the unornamented portions of these structures the stones are simply plain, smooth cubes. Plain walls, however, are rare. The edifices are all more or less adorned, and many of them are literally encrusted with ornaments, statues and strange symbols. I regard

the Temple of the Serpent at Uxmal as the best example of this that I have yet seen, while the House of the Governor is unquestionably the grandest edifice. This is fortunate, because Uxmal, of all the ruins still in a measure preserved, is the easiest of access.

When first viewing the terraced mounds upon which these ruined edifices were built, it seems almost incredible that man could in this climate have piled up such accumulations of material. From the narrow platform crowning the terraced mound upon which stands the House of the Diviner, I could over-look nearly a league of forest tree-tops; and away to the left the huge almost mountain-like pile supporting the House of the Governor rose above it, only to be in turn eclipsed by the Great Mound at Izamal. These mounds are generally spoken of as having been constructed of earth and rock. I believe them to have been constructed in most cases entirely of rock, some portions being faced with stucco, while the earth has naturally accumulated as *detritus* after their abandonment. My excavations among the mounds at Nolo and Ouichen bear me out in this belief.

The duty of certain sacerdotal officials here, as well as in Mexico, at the time of the conquest, was to keep the sanctuaries and their approaches swept clean and free from unseemly things. May we not then believe, that in these ruined cities, this, a sacred duty, ended only with the abandonment of the city itself? Perhaps not always even then was the *detritus* allowed to accumulate. I have been told by the natives of the interior, of a certain ruined temple, whose floors of lime are still kept as clean and white as snow, by the natives of Tulum the aboriginal city.

I find it hard to concede to these ruins the great age assigned them by certain archæologists. Neither can I ascribe to them the modern origin as given by M. Charnay. I believe the truth to lie in a mean between the two views.

The ruined condition of a building or of a collection of

buildings, affords very uncertain evidences of age, either in cold or in tropical climates. In the one frost, and in the other rapid vegetable growth are potent factors of ruin. A perfectly constructed edifice of stone can long withstand these destructive agencies, but an inherent architectural defect, though apparently slight, will cause the ruin of a building, that would otherwise have lasted until time itself was wearied with the record. A builder when working with cubes or plates, whether of stone, brick or wood, should always see that the joints are broken or well protected. To neglect this gives weakness to a structure hard to over-estimate, and yet I find this defect common in Yucatan ruins. But for this, I believe that many a once magnificent structure, now an utter ruin, would still be left a grand object for study. It may perhaps be thought that I am giving undue prominence to this fault of construction; that, inasmuch as the whole edifice is built of solid masonry with only a comparatively thin plating of stone, the loss of a few plates, more or less, can have but little effect upon the permanency of the structure itself. This is not so. Were the joints of the stone cubes or plates well broken or protected, the growing rootlets or softening lime could displace a cube or two without more than local damage; but let a growing root or trickling stream of water find an open running joint, and a serious menace is at once developed, that sooner or later will inevitably cause the destruction of the whole façade, and it is in these façades, encrusted with statues, symbols and hieroglyphics, that the chief archæological value of the edifices consists. Intact and in their places, these stones may solve important problems. Displaced they become simply objects of curiosity, and of no more archæological value than the scattered ashes of Diego de Landa's manuscripts.

A large portion of the eastern front of the Governor's House, so called, at Uxmal is a fallen, shapeless mass, and that the ruin began with a defect of this kind can be plainly seen. At Zayi and Oebatche are similar cases of destruc-

tion, proceeding from similar causes. At Labna, the Portal, a most artistic structure, and one that would not suffer by comparison with the architectural works of any age or land, would, I believe, have been much more perfect to-day, but for the ruin that crept in through a defect of this nature. In many regions the *débris* that has accumulated in the progress of time serves as a base for calculations, more or less correct as to age or date of abandonment, but in the ruins of Yucatan that I have visited this factor does not exist. Instead of being almost overwhelmed and hidden beneath an earth deposit, I find rarely more than a scant six inches encumbering the floors of chamber and corridor, and in many cases they are entirely clear and exposed to view. Had this been the case at Uxmal only, it might, in part at least, be explained by the fact that when the Empress Carlotta visited Yucatan, Uxmal enjoyed the benefit of a general cleaning and clearing in anticipation of the visit that she soon after made. Not only was this accumulation noticeably absent at Uxmal, but also at Kabah, Labna, Debatche and even at Zayi, whose ruins are rarely visited even by the natives themselves. As the ruined edifices are built upon mounds of greater or less altitude, *débris* could only accumulate from two sources: brought up from below by living agencies, bird, beast or reptile, or by the natural agencies of the elements, decay and the erosion of time upon the material of which the building itself is constructed. The tendency of matter is to seek a lower level, and the high winds sweeping through chamber and corridor would expel a great portion of the *débris*, force it down the pyramid and lodge it in the angles and at the terraced base, which theory is corroborated by the evidence. The *débris* that is found in the chambers of the ruins consists of substances conveyed there by living agencies, nut shells, well-gnawed bones and bat's *excreta*, combined with the fragments of the almost stonelike lime composite that once gave the chamber walls a hard, smooth finish. The elevations upon which they are built, their shapely terraces, now

destroyed by the fallen ruins, have often become shapeless mounds.

I believe that few, if any, of the structures now standing have been habitations of man, as constant abodes. The massive buildings, built upon still more massive mounds can only be those "buildings built upon high places," spoken of by the chronicler; not merely temples, but halls of justice and public business. In them were probably held councils and conferences on important affairs, while from the narrow stone platform in front, to the concourse of people below, were proclaimed the edicts of law and religion, of peace and war. Below were clustered the dwellings of the multitudes that made these edifices a necessity.

Concerning the houses of the people, of which I have found traces for leagues around Labna, I hope to know more later.

I believe that much useful knowledge can be gleaned from the sites of what were once the ancient Maya homes. In the search among the grander ruins, this fact has been overlooked; and yet some of the almost obliterated sites may yield more facts, and a clearer insight into Maya history and home life, than the massive piles that tower above them.

I am aware that a large number, and perhaps a majority, of archaeologists hold to the belief that the edifices, not devoted to religious purposes as temples, were simply communal dwellings, and within them dwelt all the people that composed the so called city. Those who hold to that belief will, I doubt not, strongly criticise my view. Nevertheless I thoroughly believe that I am correct in this opinion—that the dwellings of the people covered a large space of territory, but in most cases being built of perishable material they have disappeared. Eminent archaeologists have asserted that there were no such dwellings, because no traces of them exist in the explored ruins. I believe this to be an error. The whole region around Labna is dotted

with low mounds and small rectangular terraces. Some of these are but slightly raised above the surrounding level while others are of a greater altitude, though compared with the mounds that support the ruined edifices they are very low. Now if these do not mark the sites of what were once dwellings, to what purpose can we conceive that they were put? Those who are familiar with the habits engendered by a life in the tropics will be ready to affirm that they were not built simply for the pleasure of working. Their numbers, if not their situations, preclude any idea of their having once been the sites of additional temples, even in a land where it is popularly supposed strong religious zeal existed. Reason would tell us that each of these almost innumerable small mounds and terraces, that encompass the region of Labna, and many other ruins, marks the site of what was once a dwelling-place,—a home. As I purpose to make this the subject of a special paper I shall not now enlarge upon it.

I hope before many months to be able to submit some interesting results of my researches at Labna, to be able to tell you whether the long line of worked stones, that I found buried in the forest mould indicates a once paved roadway, or whether it will prove Labna to have been a walled city. I hope to tell you more about the inscription that I have discovered, graven upon a stone symbol, of which I send you photographs, and also that success has crowned my search for the missing portion of a most interesting statue. I have chosen this city of Labna as my special field of study, not only because it is a rich field for archæological research, but also because it has thus far escaped the hands of modern vandals. Too near the haunts of the dreaded *sublevados* to suit the taste of curiosity seekers, it has escaped their visitations, while no hacienda exists in its neighborhood to covet the worked stones that it contains. It thus realizes my ideal object of archæological study—an undisturbed ruined city.

Many archæologists seek to prove that the civilization of

the ancient Mayas was born in the East. Others go to the opposite extreme and assert that the civilization of the East was but the offspring, and this the mother. I believe the civilization of the Mayas to have been a distinct and an original one; and while at some period it may have had contact with that of the East, this contact was too slight to impress itself decidedly upon it. That there must have been some points of coincidence between the two civilizations is most natural. Man is a creature of very finite ideas and actions. In all ages and in all lands, he has had and can have, only the straight and curved lines with which to delineate, and a certain number of articulate sounds with which to form his words or to express his ideas. Hence it would be almost marvellous, if in some manner there did not appear certain apparently striking points of similarity between the civilization of the ancient East and that of the West. At this moment there occurs to my mind nearly a dozen words in the language of the Mayas, that not only closely approximate in sound to certain words in the Anglo-Saxon tongue, but stranger still, have a meaning almost identical; and yet who will affirm that this indicates any connection, linguistic or otherwise, between the Maya and the Anglo-Saxon? The thought is of course absurd. That these ruins indicate a considerable civilization, I cannot doubt. That it was a civilization of the highest order, I can find no proof. It may be true in regard to Yucatan ruins that as one enthusiastic archaeologist affirms, "hidden from sight of man to-day, to-morrow to be discovered, lie abundant proofs that this is the oldest, if not the highest, civilization the world ever held"; but the light of to-day does not show it. These ruins tell of a civilization, of a state far above the nomads of the West and above the communal Pueblos of the South-west, but not of that advanced state of progress that sends forth a far-reaching influence.

VOL. IV.

NEW SERIES.

PART 4.

PROCEEDINGS.

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN BOSTON,

APRIL 27, 1887.



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NOTE.

This number of the Proceedings completes Vol. IV.; a title-page and index for the volume will be issued with the next number.

PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 27, 1887, AT THE HALL OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON.

THE President, the Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL.D., in the chair.

The following members were present (the names being arranged in order of seniority of membership) : Edward E. Hale, Charles Deane, George F. Hoar, Andrew P. Peabody, George Chandler, Thomas C. Amory, Nathaniel Paine, Joseph Sargent, Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, George S. Paine, Edward L. Davis, William A. Smith, Charles H. Bell, James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth, John D. Washburn, Thomas W. Higginson, Albert H. Hoyt, Charles C. Smith, Francis A. Walker, Hamilton B. Staples, Edmund M. Barton, Charles Devens, Thomas L. Nelson, Lucius R. Paige, Franklin B. Dexter, John J. Bell, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Edward I. Thomas, Solomon Lincoln, Andrew McF. Davis, J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden, Ebenezer Cutler, Reuben Colton, Robert N. Toppan, Henry H. Edes, Frederick J. Kingsbury, Edward Channing, Lucien Carr, Frank P. Goulding.

The Recording Secretary read the records of the last meeting, which were approved.

The same officer reported from the Council their recommendation that the following named gentlemen be elected to membership in the Society :

Rev. HENRY WILDER FOOTE, of Boston ;
JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, Esq., of Portland, Maine ;
As resident members.
JOHN BEDDOE, F.R.S., of Bristol, England ;
EDWARD HURLBURT THOMPSON, Esq., of Merida, Yucatan ;
As foreign members.

All of these gentlemen were declared elected, a separate ballot being taken on each name.

CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., read a report which had been prepared by him and adopted by the Council as a part of their report to the Society.

NATHANIEL PAYNE, Esq., Treasurer, submitted his report in print, and EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq., Librarian, read his report.

The reports above named being before the Society as the report of the Council, the Recording Secretary read the following letter :

71 CHESTER SQUARE, April 27th, 1887.

MY DEAR MR. WASHBURN :

I sincerely regret that on account of my health I shall not be able to attend the semi-annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society to be held this day : an occasion of the deepest interest I am sure it will be. As a slight mark of my kind remembrance I enclose one hundred dollars for the addition of any books, to any department of the library, which the gentlemen interested may think best.

Very respectfully,

R. C. WATERSTON.

It was unanimously voted that the Secretary be authorized to return the grateful acknowledgments of the Society to the Rev. Mr. WATERSTON for his generous and timely gift.

CHARLES C. SMITH, Esq., moved that the report of the Council be adopted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

Mr. WASHBURN, seconding the motion of Mr. SMITH, spoke of the unusually interesting character of that portion of the report which related to the charitable and educational trusts of England, and especially of the casual illustrations therein given, of the power of imagination to illumine and make picturesque even

—“brawling courts
And dusky purlieus of the law.”

Indeed, in no proceedings of a serious nature, not even in the writing of history, has the aid of the imagination been more signally and successfully invoked, than in the very difficult branch of the law which relates to perpetuities in connection with charitable uses. In the application of what is known in the books as *cy pres*, the Court seems in many instances to have resolved itself into a tribunal of the imagination. What would the testator have probably done, or have been content to do, had he known before his death or period of incapacity, that the charitable dispositions contained in his will could not, for reasons of law or fact, be carried into execution? The very hall in which we are assembled calls to mind the early Massachusetts case of the American Academy vs. Harvard College, in which Chief Justice Shaw, then recently appointed to the bench, delivered a memorable opinion on the subject of the bequests of Count Rumford. One of the most interesting contributions to the literature of the law, valuable hardly less as an historical than as a legal discussion, is the opinion of Chief Justice Gray of Massachusetts, in the recent and leading case of Jackson vs. Phillips.

The doctrine of *cy pres* (the imaginative department of the law of trusts) has not received in the American courts an interpretation exactly identical with that of the courts of England, but as this is not a professional discussion, it is not necessary to point out the distinction. Nor, in an extemporaneous expression, is it desirable to more than glance at the picturesque nature of any of them. The

mention, however, in the report, of Christ's Hospital where Thomas Newcome "said '*Adsum*,' and fell back," calls to mind a case in Vernon's Chancery Reports, memorable and curious alike for the character of the defendant, the nature of the bequest, the tone of the discussions, and the successive and diverse judgments of court. It was an information by the Attorney-General against Richard Baxter, author of the "*Saint's Rest*" and the "*Call to the Unconverted*," no stranger, alas! to courts or prison. Poor suffering Baxter, worn by disease, and dying daily, had, by the will of Robert Mayot, a beneficed clergyman of the Church of England, been bequeathed the sum of 600l., to be distributed by him amongst sixty *pious ejected ministers*. The testator adds, "I would not have my charity misunderstood. I do not give it them for the sake of their non-conformity: but because I know many of them to be pious and good men, and in great want." The Attorney-General alleged in the information that the charity was against law (the Act of Uniformity, as will naturally occur to the professional or historical student), and invoked the imaginative discretion of the court.

Baxter's answer and the arguments on each side are quaintly interesting. The Lord Keeper said he had no doubt in the case and would decree the charity (that is the *use*) void, and that in accordance with his Majesty's pleasure the money should be applied for the building of Chelsea College. But it was then urged that if the charity was void the money ought to remain with the executor; but the court said it was the *use* which was void—not the charity. Then it was thereupon claimed the charity ought to be applied *eodem genere*, and the testator having desired to benefit *ejected ministers*, at least it should be decreed to go "amongst the clergy." And this view prevailed with the Lord Keeper, who thereupon decreed it for the maintenance of a chaplain for Chelsea College, instead of for the building.

This was in 1684, but after the due and proverbial delay, the case came before the Lords Commissioners at Trinity term, 1689 (not long before Baxter's death), and they reversed the decree of the Lord Keeper. Although these were described as *ejected ministers*, and so as *a class* under the ban of the Act of Uniformity, yet, as the testator was himself a conformist, and Baxter in his answer swore that he also was a conformist, it might well have been the intent, and the court would imagine the testator so expressing it, that, though these men are ejected ministers, their wants are to be supplied and their necessities relieved, not because they are *ejected*, but because they are *needy* and *suffering* men. And, indeed, the words of the testator, quoted from his will, quite naturally bear, even call for, that interpretation. And so the Lords Commissioners adjudged the use *not void* and ordered the money to be paid out and distributed according to the will. Whether Baxter actually did this, or whether he was then so far gone in controversies and sufferings that this pleasure was denied him *in propria persona*, is not at this present moment remembered. The whole story of Baxter's connection with courts and prisons, as set forth by Orme and Calamy, is touching and pathetic in the extreme, but perhaps hardly germane to the motion before the meeting.

Rev. EGBERT C. SMYTH, D.D., remarked that a new charitable trust had recently been established at Oxford for the education of independent clergymen.

Mr. HOAR added an expression of the hope that the subject of the report would in due time be considered by the writer in its relation to similar trusts in this country.

Mr. SMITH's motion was then adopted.

The President laid before the Society, reading briefly from the manuscripts, three letters of Earl Percy, who was in command of the British detachment at Lexington and Concord.

The first, dated May 6th, 1771, is signed Percy, is addressed to his relative, Bishop Percy, and encloses a manuscript song of considerable merit. The writer affects to have received it from a person who assured him he got it from an officer of the Royal Scotch. But it seems clear that this is a mere playful fiction, and that the song is by Lord Percy himself. The song is in his handwriting. On the corner of the sheet which contains it, is written in the Bishop's hand, "Composed by Earl Percy, 1771."

The other letters are signed Northumberland, written after the author came to the dukedom. It is agreeable to think of this young officer, like Burgoyne and André, as a votary of the muses. I am not aware that he is mentioned as an author in any biographical sketch.

COVE OF CORK, May 6th, 1771.

DEAR SIR.

I am to return you many thanks for your Letter, & the Hermit of Warkworth which I assure you I admired very much. I have by accident met with a Scotch song in this Island which I never saw before; whether it is an old one or not I dont know, but the Person who gave it me, assured me he got from an officer of the Royal Scotch that was quartered here about two years ago, & told him it was a very old one. However as I know you to be curious in these matters I have enclosed it to you. We have at last got our Route, & march tomorrow se'night for Dublin, where we shall arrive the 27th. If it is in my power to do anything for you there, I desire you will let me know I beg my best Comp^t. to M^r. Percy & am

Your very sincere Friend

PERCY.

To

The Reverend

D^r. Percy

Northumberland House

Free

London

Percy

A SCOTCH SONG.

Composed by Earl Percy, 1771.

1st.

My Annie ye're the bonniest Lass
 That 'ere gave Sheperd Glee,
 And tho' fu' blithe young Jeanny was,
 She's nae sae blithe as ye.
 Then come awa my Bonny Lass,
 Flee to your Soger's Arms,
 Our dales in muckle bliss we'll pass
 Free frae a' dread Alarms.

2d.

Your lip's sae saft, your Breest's of Sua,
 Twa Di'monds are your Eyne.
 Your Beauty stole my heart awa,
 I wad that ye were mine.
 Then come awa my bonny Lass &c.

3d.

When 'ere ye trip it o'er the Lee
 Or thro' the bonny Broom,
 WI' ye to gae my heart's a' Glee,
 Without ye 'tis a' gloom.
 Then come awa &c.

4th.

When ains'e ye're mine, there's Nane by word,
 Or Deed, dare to affend ye.
 For I can wield my trusty sword,
 And aye wull I defend ye.
 Then come awa &c.

5th.

Fu' blithe and gay's a Soger's Life,
 Ye ken it well enough,
 Free frae a' sorrow, frae a' strife,
 Tis better nar the Pleugh.
 Then come my Lassie come awa,
 Gar the Pleughman gang his gait,
 Ye are sae blithe, ye are sae bra
 A Soger Lad's your fate.

[Extract from the Bp's answer.]

"The late most important Enquiry on which the House of Commons has been so long engaged, and which so entirely engrossed every attention in England could not but attract a similar notice here, and though it brought to light great improprieties of private conduct, which very justly deserved censure, yet removed imputations of public mis-

conduct which had been so industriously and universally propagated that they were every where rec'd. with implicit credit, and therefore their confutation and removal is a great public benefit. So that the Enquiry has proved advantageous is the opinion of many judicious persons."

ALNWICK CASTLE, 14th. Oct^r. 1804.

MY DEAR LORD

At the same time I thank you for your Letter of the 5th. I must lament to perceive it written and signed by another hand. It is not indeed much easier for me to write the answer, for as the fingers of my right are become rigid & contracted I hold my pen with much difficulty & some pain ; even the hot milk has [not] been able to preserve me from the consequences of my disorder, & indeed I have been for some time obliged to relinquish the medicine, from the heat of the milk having too much relaxed the coats of my stomach.

It afforded me much satisfaction to find that the minds of the generality of the Irish had been weaned from their predilection for French Principles. The Imperial Title assumed by Buonaparte, suits ill with the Republican system, & I entertain no doubt but the Emperor of the French Republick, will prove as great a Tyrant, as any of the Emperors of the Roman Republick formerly.

My Brother has hitherto been permitted to remain on his Parole quietly at Geneva. For a little while they removed his son to Verdun, but they allowed him very soon to return to his Father. By the last Letters I understand they were both in perfect health, & appear to be in good spirits. Lady Beverley and her Daughters are safe in England, but not without having had some alarms, as they came over in the same Packet with Mr. Drake.

The Duchess, & my Daughters, unite with me in compliments & the best of Wishes to you, & M^r. Percy. My sons are both absent from us ; Lord Percy at Cambridge, & Algernon at Eton. I am certain you will be pleased to know, that Lord Percy is continuing a third year at the University, altho a Nobleman, at his own particular Desire.

Adieu My Dear Lord, & be assured I ever am, with the greatest regard

Your sincere Friend
and obedient Serv^t.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

NORTH^d. HOUSE, 23^d. Jan^v. 1809.

ans'wd. 23^d. March 1809.

MY DEAR LORD.

Three days ago I had the pleasure of receiving your Lordship's letter of the 7th., which in common with others was delayed by the deep snow, & bad weather, we have had lately. It afforded me very great pleasure to learn that your Lordship's health continued so good. I flatter it continue the same for many years to come. M^r. Meade is too young to be afflicted as yet with the Rheumatism. I have lately received great benefit from taking every morning about three or four grains of the Columbo root in powder, in a thin dish of chocolate, at breakfast. It mixes perfectly with the chocolate, which entirely takes off the bitter taste of the columbo root. This I would recommend to M^r Meade ; as my disorder is at last discovered to be clearly Rheumatick, & not gouty. Would they had made this discovery some years ago.

I did not know where M^r. Turnbull resided, till I received your Lordship's Letter. I am very sorry to find she is under any difficulties, & shall take the Liberty of writing to Colonel Isted upon the subject.

Lord Paget is just arrived, & has brought an account, that Gen^l. Junot attacked our troops near Coruña, after the Cavalry were embarked, & the Infantry just on the point of embarking. The British troops fought with the greatest coolness and bravery, & repulsed the enemy in every point, aching [sic] several Prisoners. We have however lost S^r John Moore, who was killed by a cannon shot, together with L^t. Col : Napier, & L^t. Colonel Mackenzie. S^r. David Baird is very severely wounded, & has been obliged to have his arm amputated. L^t. Colonel Wynch is likewise wounded. The dispatches are not yet arrived, so that the particulars are not known. They are however hourly expected, as the Vessel, on board of which the officer is who is bringing them, sailed from Coruña an hour before Lord Paget. The action took place on the 16th. of this month.

The Duchess, Lord Percy, & the rest of my family desire I will offer their compliments, & best wishes to your Lordship, M^r. & M^r. Meade, together with my own.

I have the pleasure to be with the greatest Esteem & Regard

My dear Lord
Your Lordship's
Most sincere Friend
& obedient Servant

NORTHUMBERLAND.

The Right Reverend
The Lord Bishop of Dromore.

The President also called the attention of the Society to a brief sketch of its former president, Hon. JOHN DAVIS, which had recently come to his notice. It is an admirable portraiture. It is contained in a little book entitled, *Gallery of American Portraits*, by George Watterston. This collection of very spirited sketches was published in 1830. It is now nearly forgotten.

Watterston was Librarian of Congress, 1825-29. He published several works, among which were: *Memoir on the Tobacco Plant*, Washington, 1817, 8vo. *Letters from Washington*, 1818, 12mo. *Course of Study Preparatory to the Bar or the Senate*, 1823, 12mo. *Wanderer in Washington*, 1827, 12mo. *The Lawyer: or Man as he ought not to be*, Charlestown, Mass., 1829, 18mo. *Tabular Statistical Views of the Population, Commerce, Navigation, Public Lands of the United States* (jointly with Van Zandt and Nicholas Biddle), Washington, 1829, 4to. *Continuation of same*, 1833, 8vo. *Gallery of American Portraits*, 1830, 12mo. *New Guide to Washington*, 1842, 18mo; 1847, 18mo; 1848, 18mo.

JOHN DAVIS.

[From *Gallery of American Portraits*].

Mr. Davis is a native of Massachusetts, and has been a member of the House of Representatives for about six years. He does not often address the body to which he belongs; but when he does, it is with great ability and

effect. He is sedate, grave, and circumspect, reflecting intensely on the subject brought up for discussion, and speaking only when it is of such a nature as to require the lights and energies of superior minds. On such occasions he investigates profoundly, prepares himself with facts to illustrate and develope, and comes forth as a most eloquent and powerful advocate. His mind is capable of constant, laborious, and intense application; is clear, acute, and vigorous; not easily swayed by ingenuity, or led astray by feeling; seeking truth, through all the meanders of subtlety, and drawing her into light, and presenting her in all her native and undisguised loveliness. Like the well trained hunter, he is never driven from the pursuit of the game by false scents, but perseveres, whatever may be the irregularity of the course or the obstructions of the way, till he brings out the truth, and exposes the fallacies of those who have endeavored to conceal it. His information on the great questions of national policy is extensive and accurate, and his reasoning solid and irresistible. His positions are laid down broadly, and demonstrated with clearness. He never loiters on the outskirts of his subject, or strives to amuse his hearers by pretty conceits or idle verbiage. He deals in demonstration, and when he brings his proposition to a close, it is like the *quod erat demonstrandum* of the mathematician. Almost every mind is satisfied, or finds it difficult, if not impossible, to extract the wedge he has driven in. His speeches are fine specimens of practical logic and accurate reasoning, close, clear, and conclusive. Mr. D. does not deal much in theory; he is more practical than speculative, and bends his whole powers to produce conviction, without aiming at beauty or splendor of diction in what he says. His thoughts are "apples of gold," but not "in a net-work of silver." His style is plain and unostentatious, and suited to the weight and gravity of the subject which he discusses, and though correct, is not very flowing or ornamented. His frame is large, and apparently muscular; his countenance grave, and marked by the traces of thought, and exhibits great shrewdness and penetration. As a legislator, he is vigilant and active, always at his post, and always prepared to support or resist, by his eloquence or vote, any measure which may be introduced into the House that he conceives to be conducive or injurious to the interests of the nation.

The letters and the biographical notice were referred to the Committee of Publication.

J. EVARTS GREENE, Esq., presented and read a paper on the subject of the Roxbury Latin School, which was with the thanks of the Society referred to the Committee of Publication.

ANDREW MCF. DAVIS, Esq., said: During an examination of the early records of Harvard College, which I made last winter, I met with a curious error in the transcription of a will, by means of which the College authorities seem to have had doubts raised in their minds whether there was not an alternative title for the Colony of New Haven. There was evidence also that this doubt lingered in their minds for fifty years. I found in the records what seemed to me to be an explanation of the error. The explanation, although plausible, did not carry absolute proof within itself and I inserted an inquiry in the March number of the Magazine of American History, asking assistance from others in procuring evidence that the explanation was correct. When I published this inquiry I had no idea that the records themselves would furnish this proof, but feared that it would be necessary for this purpose to discover the original will in England. A further examination of the College archives has, however, placed me in possession of material bearing upon the subject, which is practically as satisfactory as though I had seen the original will, and enables me to say that the explanation of the error, which was suggested in the Magazine of American History, may be regarded as proved to be correct.

The circumstances under which the error occurred and the discovery of the proof of its origin will be found in the following statement:—

In 1670, William Penoyer of England gave an annuity from his estate in Norfolk for "exhibitions." The phrase in the original will in which the testator specifically desig-

nated the manner in which the scholarships should be assigned read as follows: "With the residue thereof two fellowes & two schollars for ever shall be educated, maintained, & brought up in the Colledge called Cambridge Colledge in New England, of which I desire one of them as often as occasion shall present, may be of the Lyne or Posterity of the said Robert Penoyer if they be capeable of it & the other the Colony of now or of late called New Haven Colony," etc. A copy of this clause was received by the Treasurer. Whether he forwarded the copy which he received or made a second copy does not appear, but a copy received from the Treasurer was produced at a meeting of the President and Fellows held in August, 1671, and was entered in full upon the College Book in connection with the records of that meeting. By the time that the clause of the will relating to these exhibitions, found its way upon the College Book, it had become transformed so that the phrase "The Colony of now or of late called New Haven," read "The Colony of Nox or of late called New Haven." There are in the early College books several collations of the exhibitions and trust funds. The Penoyer will is entered in these books four times; once in Book 1, twice in Book 3 and once in Book 4. Each time the error is repeated.

That the College authorities were puzzled by the phrase "The Colony of Nox or of late called New Haven," and that they thought there might have been some reason for Penoyer's use of the alternative title for the Colony of New Haven, is shown by the fact that it is several times recognized in the assignments of this exhibition. In 1679, "James Alling and Noadiah Russell both schollars of the Colonie of Nox or New Haven," were designated to receive the Penoyer annuity. Increase Mather and Thomas Brattle, in their correspondence with Samuel Crisp, the representative of the Penoyer estate, both dwell upon the fact that students from the Colony of Nox received the benefits of

the trust. Mention is made, either in the records or in Leverett's Diary, of students from the "Colony of Nox," or in more guarded phrase as "being supposed to be a scholar belonging to the Colony formerly called the Colony of Nox," in 1694, in 1716 and in 1721. Later than this I have found no reference to the Colony of Nox. Founded in the Records of Harvard College in 1671, it lived in the same seclusion until 1721 and then for a time disappeared from history. In 1862 allusion was made to it by Mr. Sibley in a note to a paper which was published in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. No attempt was made at that time to follow up its history.

At first sight it may seem strange that the College officials should have perpetuated this blunder for so many years. It must be borne in mind, however, that they were extremely anxious to have those from whom they might hope for gifts understand that trusts would be administered according to the intentions of their founders. They met with this phrase in what they supposed to be a correct transcript of Penoyer's will. Penoyer had relatives in America and evidently had friends in the Colony of New Haven. In describing the Colony he had apparently used a name with which they were not familiar, but it seemed as though this alternative title was used for designating more particularly a colony which had but recently lost its identity. In 1662 the charter granted to Connecticut had comprehended the Colony of New Haven. The very circumstances which led Penoyer to describe the Colony as having now or of late the title with which he was familiar, rather than by the new name to which he had not become accustomed, contributed to sustain the error. It does not require any great stretch of the imagination to bring before our eyes the scene of the discussions in which Increase Mather, Thomas Brattle, Leverett, Wadsworth and Henry Flynt participated, in seeking for an explanation of the phrase. The doubt whether it meant anything and the

preponderance of the feeling that it was wiser after all to recognize it, is apparent in the records and in the official correspondence of the College.

Without being able to assert positively how and when the error was discovered, it may be stated as probable that when Henry Flynt compiled his list of benefactors of the College, which was completed in 1722, he examined the certified copy of the will which had been transmitted from England, and with the matter fresh in his mind from assignments by the Corporation of the Penoyer annuity in 1721, solved the question of the origin of the Colony of Nox. The coincidence of the disappearance from the records of allusion to the Colony of Nox, with his work in overhauling the College papers, points almost conclusively to Flynt as the discoverer of the error.

The fact that there was a correct copy of the will, or at least of that portion of it relating to the College, is made certain by a reference in Dr. Andrew Eliot's Donation Book, to "an attested copy of Mr. Penoyer's will, MS. papers No. 25." The copy of the will extended upon the pages of the Donation Book purports to have been made from this attested copy. The phrase in question is correctly transcribed and reads "now or late." Since the compilation of that book the papers of the College have been assorted and bound in volumes. The attested copy of the Penoyer will has disappeared, but the correct transcript in the Donation Book furnishes evidence that the error originated either in the Treasurer's office or in the records themselves.

The clue which enabled me to unravel the mystery of the "Colony of Nox," was gained by a marginal entry "now or of late called New Haven Colony," abreast of the words, "Colony of Nox or of late called New Haven Colony," in one of the College books. Similar explanatory entries have been made against several of these entries which contain allusions to the Colony of Nox. These marginal

entries would be in themselves a sufficient guard against the resurrection of the error, did they include all allusions in the records to the Colony of Nox, or were they in themselves so entered as necessarily to attract the attention of the reader. As a matter of fact, however, there are several allusions to the Colony of Nox, against which no marginal notations have been made, and it is also true that no marginal notation would necessarily attract the attention of a searcher of the records. Throughout this period, the margins of the College books are filled with notations. They constitute a sort of topical index, the use of which a person making a thorough analysis of the records would naturally reject. For that reason it is perhaps as well that the history of the rise and fall of the Colony of Nox should be put on record.

Prof. FRANKLIN B. DEXTER read some letters of peculiar interest, and Mr. REUBEN COLTON presented an abstract of a diary kept by Mr. Edward H. Thompson during an exploring expedition in Yucatan. The Society, with thanks to Prof. DEXTER and Mr. COLTON, requested that the letters and the diary be furnished for the use of the Committee of Publication.

The meeting was then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,
Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE report of Mr. Paine, our Treasurer for twenty-four years, giving, as usual, a detailed statement of the financial operations of the Society, and the present condition of the various funds, shows that from the total income a dividend of three per cent. has been carried to each fund. The Librarian, who now completes a term of twenty-one years of faithful service, of which fifteen years were passed as an assistant to Dr. Haven, tells the interesting story of what has been done in his department during the past six months. The reports of these two officers are presented as forming a part of the report of the Council.

We have to record, at this time, the death of the only member of the Society who, to our knowledge, has passed away since the date of our last meeting,—Pliny Earle Chase, LL.D., Professor at Haverford College, Pennsylvania, who was elected into this Society in October, 1863. A memoir of Prof. Chase has been prepared by our associate in the Council, Samuel S. Green, A.M.

A glance at the development of some of the Great Charitable Trusts now in existence, especially at those of our mother country, necessarily carries in its train something more than a mere statement of figures, or the trial-balance of a book-keeper. The most matter-of-fact penny-a-liner who should be sent to “interview” that striking character and practical philanthropist, Sir Moses Montefiore, could not bring away from the atmosphere of his imposing presence merely the bare statistics of the cash in his pocket-book and the array of

his investments in land, stocks and the public funds. So he who uses such material as may be available for ascertaining the present condition of the great charitable, or semi-charitable institutions of Great Britain, will,—especially if he has ever made a personal visit to any of them,—experience that charm and inspiration of which Prof. Lowell recently spoke so eloquently,¹ and which, he says, he “never felt so acutely as in those gray seclusions of the college quadrangles and cloisters at Oxford and Cambridge, conscious with venerable associations, and whose very stones seem happier for being there.”

The charities of England have been built up in great measure from grants of land made originally by the pious and charitable. Indeed, so far back as the Norman Conquest, the church was in possession of lands, so given it for the most part, amounting to nearly three-tenths of the whole property of the country. At that time, of course, the great mass of personal property now existing in the form of consols, stocks, bonds and the like, was unknown. This land, held in great measure under feudal tenure or the surviving customs and relics of that tenure, has been a constant cause of legislation down to the present day; and the history of its ownership is both curious and interesting to the American, who buys and sells his city lot or his pleasant farm as free from incumbrance, for the most part, as he does his horse and cow, or his securities at the Stock Exchange. True it is, however, that even here a “Concord philosopher” might find that we are not such absolute owners of our land as we may seem; that the bottom ownership—“*dominium directum*”—of the broad acres which we may have acquired is really in the great body politic of which we are members, leaving only the “*dominium utile*” to ourselves; that although we are said to own the “fee,” some of the original meaning of that word still attaches to

¹Oration delivered at the 250th anniversary of Harvard College, Nov. 8, 1888.

it, so that we are really but little more than “*adscripti glebae*,”—“*et fruges consumere nati.*”¹

It sometimes happened, under the Roman law, that the owner of property wished to convey the whole or part of his estate to a person whose succession would not be recognized by the courts. So there grew up a practice of bequeathing it to some trusted friend who should afterwards, in honor, re-convey it to the intended beneficiary.² At first, says Justinian, there was no binding legal force to these trusts, because no one could be compelled against his will to do what he was merely asked to do. But the custom became so prevalent and well recognized that

¹The idea of exclusive ownership in land was not the one which prevailed at the outset. Adam was placed in the garden of Eden only “to dress it and to keep it.” And when the Creator gave to men “dominion” “over all the earth” it was from the start a tenancy in common. To the one occupying and improving any tract belonged the temporary use thereof, and on his abandonment, in search of “fresh woods and pastures new,” it became common once more. As occupancy gave possession, however, the right of the occupier to transfer the possession came to be recognized; and at the death of the occupant his children, being present, naturally received or assumed it, so that, as another step forward in the system, it came to be recognized that the children might succeed the father without molestation. Under the old Roman law daughters shared equally with the sons; but among the Jews and the Greeks the daughters were excluded if there were any sons to receive the inheritance. [For an instance where there were no sons, see Book of Numbers: xxviii., 1.] The English law also excluded female descendants where there was a male heir. After the principle of succession had become established, the next step allowed the father to prefer certain heirs in will. The practice of making wills is traced back by some to very early times indeed. Eusebius says that Noah made a will in writing, under seal, disposing of the whole world; but Eusebius is in error. The act of Noah in preferring Shem and apparently disinheritting Canaan, and that of Israel in giving to Joseph a portion above his brethren, we must regard rather as the *flats* of autocratic rulers than as testaments in the modern acceptance of the term. The only use of the word testament in the sense of a last will, which is found in the Bible, is in Hebrews: ix., 16, 17, where it indicates that the practice was well known to the apostle. Dr. Barnes, in his “Notes,” though not approaching the subject from its legal side, argues, *in extenso*, that even here the word means a covenant, and that the translation fails to catch the true meaning of the original. It is to be noticed, however, that in the recent “Revised Version,” the same idea is conveyed as in that of King James.

²The common form used in the creation of such trusts, after specifying the legacy, was: “I beg,” “I request,” or “I trust to your good faith,” &c. *Peto, rogo, volo, mando, fidei tuae committo.*

Augustus confirmed the practice, and gave the *praetor* power to enforce the execution of the trust. The trusts created in this way were called *fidei commissa*, and were the origin of the "Uses" which have played an important part in connection with the subject which we are now considering.

The leading Great Trusts of the time, and those with which alone we are now concerned, are such as are of a charitable nature. The Bank of England, with its capital and surplus of over \$70,000,000, the great railroads and other corporations, are trusts for the benefit of their stock-holders, to whom alone, and to the law of the land, the managers are responsible. The love of God and of one's fellow-men has stimulated the wealthy to part with their substance, - more frequently, rather, to leave it behind them, - either for such purposes as would promote the worship of God and the spread of the Christian religion, or for the relief of mortals suffering from poverty, disease or infirmity. The gifts of the first class, those connected with the church, were originally the larger and more numerous, for until within a comparatively few years almost the whole object of a liberal education in Great Britain was to fit men for the church; and upon the great universities and the numerous endowed schools of England a steady stream of benefactions has poured for centuries.

Among the English people, prior to the Norman conquest, the Roman, or allodial, system of land tenure prevailed at first, but on the continent many allodial proprietors had surrendered their holdings to some baron, to secure his protection, receiving them again at his hands "in fee," or by feudal tenure. This change of tenure had been specially marked in France during the century previous to the Conquest, and William, to punish the English for the resistance which they had offered him, seized the greater portion of the lands, and held a large part in his own hands, granting some portions *in capite* to his barons, who sublet to their

knights. A knight thus holding as tenant, reserved for himself a demesne adjoining his castle, sufficient for his personal use. The remainder of his lands was divided into four parts. On one he established a number of military tenants sufficient to perform the military service which he in turn owed to his superior; a second was for his "socage" tenants, who ploughed his lands or paid him a stipulated amount of produce as rental; a third was for the "vileins" who performed the servile offices on the manor; and the fourth was common and waste land, which furnished wood and pasturage for all. These feudal tenures, held first at the will of the lord, came to be held during the life of the vassal, and were gradually recognized as inheritable, subject, however, to the customary "reliefs," and to "fines" on alienation, or "heriots" at the death of the vassal. These feudal tenures, protected by Parliament for many years, were finally abolished in 1660,¹ although the existing rents, fines for alienation and heriots were allowed to remain, except such as were due to the King.²

¹ 12 Car. II.: c. 24.

² A writer in a recent number of the *Contemporary Review*,—the Rev. Isaac Taylor,—gives an interesting account of the survivals, which he calls innumerable, which may be detected even now, of the social and economical conditions prevailing at Domesday. Some are "scored deeply on the surface of the soil by the Domesday plough, and others survive its customary tenures, in the names of fields and farms, the forms and dimensions of enclosures, and the directions followed by hedges, roads and rights of way."

"If we ascend a hill, the Domesday map of the country lies spread before the eye. We see the divisions of the oxgangs tilled by the villains; here was the Domesday pratum, there was the pastura; this was the infeld, yonder was the outfield. We look down upon the village, and see the mill, and the hall, and the church, and the messuages of the villagers, each with a long narrow strip of croft behind it, and the cots of the bordarii, with their acre or half-acre tofts, the buildings retaining the same sites and the crofts preserving the same boundaries as they had eight hundred years ago—a truly marvellous illustration of the immobile conservatism of English village life. Even where the land has been long enclosed, and divided into separate holdings, it is instructive to ride across the country, and observe how indelibly impressed on the soil by the ancient plough are the marks of those very divisions of land which were recorded in the Domesday survey. Frequently the exact boundaries of the Domesday carucates and bovates can be traced. The ancient arable, consisting as a rule of the best land, because land was plentiful, has commonly gone back to valuable pasture, inferior soils, which were formerly unclaimed, being

This review of the system of land tenure¹ has seemed proper as leading up to the general subject of this paper, and as relating to the agitation and legislation which have for so many years prevailed in connection with the trusts and charities of England.²

now taken in the tillage. Hence the land still lies visibly in "run-rig," the great rigs, lands, or selions, usually a furlong in length, and either a perch or two perches in breadth, remaining as they were left by the Domesday co-operative ploughs, often higher by two feet or more in the ridge than in the furrow, while here and there, at regular intervals, may be discerned the traces of the flat unploughed balks, two furrows broad, left in turf to separate and give access to the strips held by the several tenants of the manor. Even when the old arable still remains in tillage it is not impossible, as harvest time approaches, to detect by the varying colors of the ripening corn the lines of the selions of the Domesday plough, now levelled by cross ploughing, but still traceable, owing to the fact of the corn growing more luxuriantly, and ripening more slowly, in the deeper and richer soil which has filled the depressions between the ancient selions. Here we can behold the visible concrete acres and rods, and measure the actual furlongs, not, as in the tables of our arithmetic books, abstract quantities of so many square yards or so many linear feet, but strips of land of definite shape as well as of definite size. The shots or furlongs are forty perches or one-eighth of a mile in length—a furrow long as the name implies—and the acres are of the same length, and four perches broad, the shape and extent of each acre being determined, not arbitrarily, but by natural conditions—the precise length by the length of the longest furrow that could be conveniently ploughed before the oxen had to stop and rest, the longest furrow possible, because the turning of the plough constituted the severest part of the ploughman's labor, while the breadth of the acre depended on the number of furrows which formed the daily task of the villan and his oxen. Thus the acre represents one day's ploughing under the most convenient conditions as to size and shape, for which reason its length is ten times its breadth. Such acres are seen in the sketch of the run-rig at Rowlston."

¹ For the "Customs and Liberties of Kent," see Report of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society, June 29, 1885, by the Hon. George F. Hoar, President. Proceedings: Vol. III., p. 344 *et seq.*

² The Parliament now in session has before it propositions for some most important and radical changes in the land laws of England. First is the commutation of the tithe system into a money tax to be paid by the owner of the land instead of the lessee. Second is the Land Transfer Bill, which has passed to a second reading in the House of Lords. The latter measure provides for a Registry Office in each of the 380 land-tax districts, and for the compulsory and universal registration of titles, and contains other provisions, which, according to *The Spectator*, "if passed into law, will practically destroy the ancient and fundamental difference that once existed in England between realty and personality."

"Some allowance of lamentation must be permitted for the approaching overthrow of all the pomp and circumstance of those legal devices by which the land of England was assured to its owners. If those 'terms of years to attend the inheritance,' those 'conveyances to uses to bar dower,' those 'trus-

The tying up of vast amounts of land in the dead hand of the church and of other bodies (in mortmain), was early resisted by the nobles for two reasons: first, the resulting aggrandizement of the church, of whose power they were jealous; and second, the loss to the lords of a great part of the recurring fines and other privileges to which they were entitled on the alienation of fees or at the death of a vassal. And this was no new thing. At Rome, even as early as the third century, a law was passed to check the overgrown wealth of the hierarchy. And in the Magna Charta of Henry III. was inserted a prohibition against the conveyance of lands to religious houses and taking them back on lease, under the penalty of forfeiture to the lord of the fee. But this restriction was evaded by various devices, so that in the reign of Edward I. the famous statute "*De Religiosis*"¹ was passed, enacting that no land should be aliened in mortmain, under the color of gift or lease, "or any other craft or engine," under pain of forfeiture to the King or other chief lord of the fee. But this did not fully accomplish the desired object, and additional restrictions were imposed by Parliament in the reigns of Edward

tees to preserve contingent remainders,' which the great creators of the art of conveyancing devised in their construction of that marvellous issue of the human brain, the family settlement, had already disappeared from actual use, they might still gladden the heart of the lawyer as he encountered them in his researches into title. Still the 'grantee to uses,' still that most modern but none the less impressive and magnificient addition to the hierarchy of devolution, 'the protector of the settlement,' still the fascinating cadence of the common form, 'together with all woods, waters, wastes,' might be met with and enjoyed. Still 'Coke upon Littleton,' that enchanting storehouse of pedantic learning, that astonishing apology for the petrified customs of rude Teutonic tribes, conveyed in the language and inspired by the notions of the Schoolmen, might be read by the student with some pretence of obtaining thence a practical result. With Lord Halsbury's bill, however, the last remains of the mighty fabric that was begun by those 'bold men' who sought to circumvent and outwit the 'Statutes *De Donis*,' and the 'Statute of Uses,' and which, though shattered by the legislation of the last fifty years, still retains something of its former splendor, will be levelled to the ground. Real property, if not nominally, at least practically, will on the passing of his bill have ceased to exist as something separate and apart."—*The Spectator.* London: April 30, 1887.

¹ 7 Edw. I., st. 2.

I.,¹ Edward III.,² Richard II.,³ and Henry VIII.⁴ By 15 Richard II., chap. 5, the evasions of the mortmain act by the subterfuge of *fidei commissa* were attacked. By an extension of this Roman practice lands and hereditaments had been largely conveyed to private persons, "for the use" of churches and corporations. But the Act last cited ordered that all who held lands or tenements to the use of religious people, guilds or fraternities, should either *amortise* them by license of the King or lord of the fee, or should sell them to some other use.

When the Protestants came into power in England, and had completed the work of driving out the alien friars and confiscated their property,⁵ they waged war upon superstitious uses; and the statute 23 Henry VIII., c. 10, prohibited grants of land and tenements for "obits" perpetual, the conditional service of a priest forever, or for three-score or four-score years. The "use" of a priest (i. e. masses), might still be secured for a term not exceeding twenty years,—after which time, as Froude intimates, the testator would have to take his chance. A statute in the time of Edward VI.⁶ vested in the crown all lands appointed to superstitious uses.

But the wealth of the charitable and pious had not by any means been all lavished upon the church. Colleges, hospitals, grammar schools, almshouses and every kind of doles⁷ had been founded and richly endowed. These

¹ 13 Edw. I., st. 1, cc. 32, 33; 34 Edw. I., st. 3.

² 18 Edw. III., st. 3, c. 3. "*Quia emptores.*"

³ 15 Rich. II., c. 5.

⁴ 23 Henry VIII., c. 10.

⁵ Henry V., and Archbishop Chicheley (founder of All Soul's College at Oxford), were the pioneers in this work of alienation, which was stimulated by a determination to rid the realm of all foreign jurisdiction. The work was not thoroughly pushed, however, until the time of Henry VIII., when Cromwell, as vicegerent, began the work of total suppression. Some colleges and chantries were put down by Edward VI., who, with the spoils, founded certain grammar schools which still commemorate him.

⁶ 1 Edw. VI., c. 14.

⁷ The "Doles" of England are of every imaginable kind, and present, of themselves, a curious study. One Henry Smith provided for the annual distri-

numerous trusts were managed, in some cases, for the benefit of the *cestuis que trustent*; but in too many instances for the benefit and aggrandizement of the trustees. The court of chancery had at an early day assumed jurisdiction over these trusts, but only the most flagrant cases of abuse would ever be brought before it. Parliament at last, in 1601, took action, passing the famous Statute "to redress the misemployment of lands, goods, and stocks of money heretofore given to certain charitable uses."¹ This act defined what uses should be considered charitable and therefore under special protection of the law of the land, and provided for a commission to enquire into the condition of the various trusts in the country, with power to issue orders for the faithful performance of duty by the trustees, and the proper application of the trust funds. The act exempted from the jurisdiction of the commission, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, their colleges and halls, the colleges

bution of 23,211 gifts of 4s. 10d. each forever. A lady is buried in St. Bartholomew's churchyard, London, who left a fund to be distributed among aged women on every Good Friday, with the requirement that the recipients should pick up their sixpences from the surface of her grave. A number of bread charities are given in a certain parish in Berkshire: the curate reports that as a result there is not a disenter in the district. At Hilderstone is a gift, established in 1625 by Sir Thomas Hunt, of 2d. apiece weekly, in bread, to six poor people who "after service should come every Sabbath day to the stone where his father lies, and kneeling should say the Lord's prayer, and pray to God for the king and queen." At West Mousley loaves and a barrel of beer are distributed annually at daybreak on Nov. 13. The baker's cart is driven across a field, the loaves are thrown out and scrambled for by seventy or eighty people. Some thirty or forty persons form a line, and, passing by the beer barrel, hand the drinking horn from one to another until the barrel is empty. At Melbourne, Derbyshire, Henry Greene in 1679 left provision to supply four poor women, every 21st of December, with four *green* waistcoats lined with *green* galloon lace: and in 1691 Thomas Gray made provision to buy annually for poor men and women coats and waistcoats of *gray* cloth. And at Barnes, in Surrey, Edward Rose, in 1652, left land in trust, among other purposes, to preserve rose trees upon his grave. Of all the great number of doles in England it is probable that ninety per cent. or more are of an injurious tendency, developing idleness, dissipation and hypocrisy. Much has been done of late in the way of converting these ill-advised charities to the support of education, and it is not improbable that, before many years, doles as at present administered, will have altogether disappeared.

¹43 Elizth., c. 4.

of Westminster, Eton and Winchester, and all cathedral and collegiate churches.

The King's power to grant licenses to colleges and schools to hold land in mortmain, which had been disputed by the lords, was confirmed by the statute of 7 & 8 Wm. III., c. 37, 1696.

An important restriction upon the too great development of charities was imposed by 9 George II., c. 36, which provided that no manors, lands or sums of money should be given for charitable uses unless by deed executed before two witnesses twelve months before the death of the grantor, the deed to be enrolled in the court of chancery, or the stocks to be transferred upon the public books within six months thereafter, and the gift to take full effect immediately upon the grantor's death. As to the reasons for this statute Lord Chancellor Hardwick said:—"The particular views of the Legislature were two: first, to prevent the locking up of land, and real property from being aliened . . . ; second, to prevent persons in their last moments from being imposed upon to give away their whole estate from their families, . . . a very wise one, for by these means the popery and clergy got almost half the real property of the kingdom into their hands; and indeed I wonder they did not get the rest: as people thought they thereby purchased heaven."¹

The great work of reform in the matter of charitable trusts was reserved for the nineteenth century; a work to which Lord Brougham gave the greater portion of his life, —in which he was seconded, in great measure, by the

¹ Vesey: 1, 28.

"One flash of purgatorial fire is able to melt a miser into charity." Fuller: *Church History*, vi., 1, 265.

"When the legendary Scotchman asked: 'Should I be placed among the elect if I left ten thousand pounds for Free Kirk Sustentation?' his minister is said to have replied that it was an experiment well worth trying."—*Endowed Charities*: by Courtney Kenny, p. 118. London: 1880.

A school at Totnes, founded in 1554, was further endowed in 1658, by the acting trustee of Elizeus Hele, who for his various charities was called "Pious Uses Hele."

Whig party, and which has been well-nigh completed under the lead of Mr. Gladstone. A letter from Brougham to Sir Samuel Romilly, M.P., written in 1818, and printed in the “Pamphleteer” (Vol. XIII., pp. 1–34), awoke the attention of the English people to the abuses existing in the charities of the realm. After referring to a bill of enquiry which he had introduced at the previous session of Parliament, he pointed out some of the abuses which had been unearthed by the committee chosen to investigate the subject. He cited an instance of a corporation in Hampshire, having the management of estates worth over £2,000 a year for the use of the poor, which had let them for £200 or £300 on fines, and would give no account of the manner in which those fines had been applied. At Mere in Lincolnshire was an endowment for a warden and poor brethren, of very ancient date, “where the warden and his lessees seemed to be very well provided for, whatever might be the lot of the brethren.” The estate consisted of 650 acres, five miles from Lincoln, and was let for only one-half guinea per acre, though it paid neither tithe nor poor-rate; and £24 a year was the whole sum allotted to the brethren. The bishop of the diocese was both patron and visitor, and had given the wardenship to his nephew, the former warden resigning and being promoted by the prelate to a living within his gift. The son of the same prelate was master of Spital Hospital in the same county: besides other landed property he was in possession of an estate worth £600 or £700 a year, in right of his office, and dispensed some £27, 4s. per annum to our or five pensioners. “An estate worth £700 a year [says Brougham in his letter] only educates seven or eight boys; lands valued at £1,100 or £1,200 a year only afford a wretched pittance to sixteen paupers; and land worth £150 a year is let for £2, 1s. 4d., chiefly to the trustees themselves. There are two estates belonging to the poor at Croydon, which ought to bring between £1,000 and £1,500 a year, yet are worth nothing

from being badly let on ninety-year leases." The estates of the hospital at Croydon, he adds, "are valued by the surveyor at £2,678 a year; yet they are let for £860, and down to 1812 they fetched no more than £336. A free school, too, is specially appointed to be kept for all the inhabitants of Croydon; but none has within the memory of man been taught, although the master receives his emoluments, teaching another school for his own profit, and although the inhabitants have established a seminary to give education, at their own expense, to the poor of the place, in the very school-room which Archbishop Whitgift devised for their gratuitous education." An order of the court of chancery, passed thirty-four years after this letter was written, provided for the opening of two free schools in connection with this hospital. To show the difficulty of remedying abuses by private effort, Lord Brougham says further, in the letter here cited:—"We there find" (in the committee's report) "the parish officers of Yeovil ruined in their attempts to obtain justice for the poor; a respectable solicitor and a clergyman in Huntingdon¹ expending large sums of their own money in the same pious work, and rewarded by the general contempt and even hatred of their fellow-citizens; a worthy inhabitant of Croydon exposed to every kind of vexation for similar exertions, his coadjutor falsely and maliciously indicted for perjury," &c., &c.

After reading this letter from Brougham, and the many instances of similar abuses cited in the chancery reports and elsewhere, one sees that the graphic picture of the fate of "Hiram's Hospital," with its *quasi* card-maker bedesmen, as sketched by Anthony Trollope in "The Warden," is by no means overdrawn.

An act passed in 58 George III. (c. 91) instituted a Commission to examine into charity trusts for educating the poor; but the proper supervision of all the endowed

¹ Cromwell was educated at the school supported by this trust.

charities was not effected until 1853 (chap. 137, 16 and 17 Vict.) and amendatory laws passed in 1855, 1860 and 1869. These acts established a rigid supervision of endowed charities, and a system of accounts, empowered the Commissioners to sell or exchange lands, to sell lands encumbered with rent charges or annuities, or to buy out such encumbrances. The Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London and Durham, with the colleges and halls therein, the Colleges of Eton and Winchester, and some other favored charities were exempt from the Act, and Roman Catholic charities were exempt for two years.

A report of the Charity Commission, made after their operations had been reduced to a thorough system, showed that the income of the various charities in their charge, for a single year (1876) was £1,558,251 from real estate alone ; and the total income was £2,198,461 ; while the land owned in the same connection amounted to 524,311 acres. It also showed that of the 14,859 parishes in England and Wales, nearly 12,000 possessed charitable endowments.

When we come to a face-to-face examination of the great trusts in themselves, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge at once present themselves in the foreground of our view. The word university, like several other English words derived from the Latin or Greek tongues, has come to be used in a specific sense, instead of the broader meaning which originally attached to it. Its first meaning was simply, the whole ; then it was used to denote the whole people, the public ;¹ and next, a collection of men of the same profession or pursuit. And to-day, in the same sense, there are many amorphous universities, not devoted to polite learning, like the shoemakers of Lynn, the fishermen of Gloucester, or the cotton-spinners of Lowell.

¹ " *Universitatis sunt, non singulorum, veluti quæ in ciritatibus sunt theatra et stadia et similia, et signa alia sunt communia civitatum.*"

[Res] quæ publicæ sunt nullius in bonis esse creduntur; ipsius enim *Universitatis esse creduntur.* Gaius II., 11.

So the Parliament of England was mentioned as "*Universitas totius Angliae.*"

There was for many years a spirited contest for the palm of seniority between the friends of Oxford and Cambridge, some going so far as to claim for the former that it was founded by Alfred the Great. This pretty theory was, in time, exploded; it is conceded, however, that Oxford is the elder. Neither university is mentioned in *Domesday Book*, and it has been shown that grammar schools existed at Winchester, Canterbury, Peterborough and elsewhere before Oxford attained its preëminence. But a school of any kind was a rarity in those days,—*nigroque simillime cygno*,—and the youth who craved for learning and to become a "clerk," must leave his home and make a long pilgrimage in search of a teacher. Gradually the teachers assembled in considerable numbers at Oxford and Cambridge, and thither flocked the students. The latter found lodgings wherever they best could. Sometimes a number of students clubbed together and hired a house, or "hall." At one time there were said to be three hundred of these halls at Oxford, before there was any university. Some students were so poor that even as late as 1572 licenses were granted them to beg. In time the monasteries and hospitals opened houses for the maintenance of a limited number of students.

In the 13th century, an organization of the great body of teachers and students at Oxford was effected as an University. William of Durham, in 1249, left by will property which served to buy three houses for the use of scholars and "exhibitioners" at the university, and to this foundation, constituting a collection of members of a larger body, was given the Latin name for a collection, i. e., a "college," with the distinguishing name, in this case, of "University College." No statutes for its government were framed, however, until 1292. Meantime,—between 1263 and 1268—John Balliol, father of the Scottish king of that name, provided similar exhibitions for poor scholars; and his wife, Devorguilla, carried his pious intentions still

farther by collecting the recipients of his bounty into one building ("Balliol College"), increasing the foundation to the support of sixteen exhibitioners, with an annual allowance of twenty-seven marks to each, and by issuing statutes for its government in 1282. These two pioneer colleges were naturally crude in their inception. But Merton College, established in 1274, was full-fledged at its birth, and endowed by its founder with a body of statutes which continued in force until 1856, and are pronounced by Dr. Brodrick¹ to be "a marvellous repertory of minute and elaborate provisions governing every detail of college life." Walter de Merton aimed to educate youth, not for the church alone, but for the other walks of life; he ordered that they should study the liberal arts and philosophy before taking up theology,—a radical deviation from the custom which had previously been in vogue.² As Merton

¹ A History of the University of Oxford: by the Hon. G. C. Brodrick, D.C.L., Warden of Merton College. London: Longman, West & Co. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. 1887.

² The following are given as examples of the foundations which were made from time to time in the early history of the universities:—

By his will dated June 21, 1709, William Works, late of Cambridge, devised (subject to certain annuities, and also to a preceding estate for life, all of which have since determined), his manors, messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments in Landbeach, county of Cambridge, to Dr. Roderick, then provost of King's College, Dr. Bentley, master of Trinity, Dr. James, master of Queen's, Dr. Covell, master of Christ's, and Sir John Ellis, master of Gonville and Caius, and to their heirs and assigns; and he also bequeathed the same gentlemen the sum of £3,000 upon the following ultimate trusts: that so long as the charity schools then largely set up in Cambridge, chiefly by the care of the pious and learned Mr. Whiston, should endure and be kept up in any reputation, his said trustees should, in the first place, pay £80 a year to their use; and should, in the next place, accumulate out of the annual income a sum of £1,500, to be applied in raising galleries in Great St. Mary's Church in Cambridge, for the use of the bachelors of arts and undergraduates; and, subject thereto, should also accumulate out of the same income a further sum of £1,500 to be applied in making a calcey or causeway from Immanuel College to Hognagog alias Gogmagog Hills; and he desired that £40 a year should be laid aside for the maintenance and repairs of the said road, and of the said galleries in St. Mary's Church; and, so soon as the galleries and causeway should be finished, there should be allowed annual pensions of £100 a year each to two young bachelors of arts, who should be sent into foreign countries soon after they had taken that degree, and should continue there for three years, but be obliged to take different roads; that they should each of them be obliged

College led the way in a new system of conduct and government, so New College,—the seventh of the series, following Exeter, Oriel and Queen's,—founded by William of Wykeham, in 1379, set the example of grandeur and regularity in architecture. And its erection marked an epoch, in other respects, in the history of Oxford. The loose state of discipline which had prevailed in the earlier days, had attracted thither, not only the devotees of Minerva but also the disciples of Mercury and herds of the lowest orders of men. The site bought by Wykeham for his college had been "found by a jury to be infected by malefactors, murderers and thieves, as well as the scene of

to write once a month a letter in Latin to the Vice Chancellor of the University, who should communicate them to the Regent House, and have them fairly written, to be lodged in the Public Library. In those letters they should give an account of the religion, learning, laws, politics, customs, manners and rarities, natural and artificial, which they should find worth observing in the countries through which they passed. That they should be chosen out of two different colleges, each of which should present two young gentlemen to the congregation, which should choose one out of each of the two colleges, and that the rest of the colleges should take it by turns to present in the same manner, in the order as they did for the choice of proctor, as often as there should be a vacancy. And his will was that their pensions should be continued for three years. That the master of every college should present, and at the presentation of them should be obliged to take the following oath, which should be read to him by the senior proctor in the Regent House before the University at a congregation: "*Dabis fidem alme matri academie, quod tu probe noveris religionem, mores et doctrinam jurenum quos modo presentasti, et eos sane dignos estimes, quod foras emittat alma mater. Sicut Deus adjuret*"; and the testator further desired that the residue and surplus of what he gave to the said four doctors and Sir John Ellis should, after all these things were performed, and all reasonable expenses allowed for the management of all matters relating to his will, be applied to the use of the University library.

By a Statute of the University of Cambridge, confirmed by order of the Queen in Council, April 16, 1861, it was enacted as follows:—The annual pensions charged by Mr. Worts upon his estate of £100 a year each to two young bachelors of arts, to be sent into foreign countries, and to continue there for the space of three years, shall cease to be so applied, and shall constitute a fund, from which the University may make grants from time to time, by grace of the Senate, at its discretion, for the promotion or encouragement of investigation in foreign countries respecting the religion, learning, law, politics, customs, manners, rarities, natural or artificial, of those countries, or for purposes of geographical discovery, or of antiquarian or scientific research in foreign countries; the conditions as to publishing the result of such investigations to be determined in every case when any grant is made.

Sarah, Duchess Dowager of Somerset, gave various messuages and lands in

other public nuisances."¹ The cleansing of such a plague spot was certainly an important step forward in the history of Oxford. The University was now beginning to assert a necessary authority in police matters, but jealousy on the part of the city magistrates led to frequent conflicts, some of them of a serious and bloody nature. Matters reached a climax on St. Scholastica's day in 1354, when a fight took place in which the townsmen, reinforced by the peasantry from the surrounding country, were victorious,—scalping, killing and wounding the students and their officers. For this the city was put under the ban of the church by the Bishop of Lincoln, and so remained for three years, when the city made submission, and a compact was signed, binding the mayor, bailiffs and sixty of the leading citizens to attend mass in St. Mary's church every year on St. Scholastica's day. This compact was kept for nearly 500 years;

the parish of Soer in the county of Buckingham, for the benefit of four scholars, to be called Somerset Scholars, and to be chosen within forty days after every vacancy from the free school of Manchester, with preference to the natives of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Herefordshire; or if none from the said school offer themselves the vacancy to be filled with any native of the three counties. They are to receive each 5s. a week for seven full years from their admission (except during their absence contrary to the statutes, and except they be promoted to a fellowship in this or any other college, or be expelled), and are to have one chamber found them by the College, with four studies, or else four distinct chambers. They are required to wear cloth gowns with open sleeves, like the students of Christ Church, and square caps, but without tassels while they are undergraduates. At their admission they are to receive from the College a new gown and cap, and a new gown and cap at the beginning of the third year, and again at the beginning of the fifth year; and are to deposit no caution, but if they do not pay their batteis within a fortnight after they are due, their names are to be crossed, and their allowance stopped, till all arrears are paid. The Bishop of Lincoln is appointed their visitor, and specially requested by the Duchess to visit once in three years. She appoints a commemoration on the day of the foundation; and a Latin speech on that day to be made by one of the Somerset scholars (who are to take it in succession), to commemorate their benefactress. At this time 40s. is to be distributed to the principal fellows and scholars present at prayers; of which the principal is to have a double share.

The allowances for caps, gowns, chambers, and studies have not been made for some years, but a reduction of tuition fees amounting to £8 a year for three years has been allowed to all the scholars on this foundation, but will be discontinued to those receiving augmented stipends.

¹ Brodrick: p. 38.

for although the citizens took advantage of the abolition of masses in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and staid away from the church, a royal edict issued to compel their attendance, a litany being substituted for the mass; and it was not until 1825 that they were released by the University. It is now less than thirty years since the city was freed from another token of dependence which had prevailed for more than six centuries: in 1248 King Henry III. issued letters patent requiring the mayor and bailiffs on taking office, to swear that they would "keep the liberties and customs of the University,"—a practice which prevailed until it was surrendered by the University in 1859.

We have seen that in most of the Acts upon the subject of mortmain, and in those regulating the charities of the Kingdom, the two leading Universities were exempt from the effects of the legislation. But in the progress of reform in other directions the time could not fail to come when these institutions also must be brought within the scope of Parliamentary action.

The Universities had been governed under statutes passed for the most part as early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, modified indeed by somewhat liberal interpretations; and the colleges also were under statutes of the pre-reformation period, modified, as far as concerned the worship in the chapels, by the laws of the land. The effect of this was, that nothing could be introduced into the Senate of the Universities, by way of suggested improvement, if any one member of the "Caput Senatus" objected; which practically gave the Vice-Chancellor a veto upon any measure proposed by any member of the University; and, again, in almost every college, the Master had the same power of veto in his own domain. No student could be admitted to the lower degrees without a declaration that he was a member of the Church of England, nor to a higher degree without subscribing to a declaration of faith similar to that which clergymen subscribe on being admitted to holy orders in

that church. The Heads of Houses were allowed to marry ; but every Fellow of a College vacated his Fellowship on marrying, and most of the Fellowships were limited to a given number of years, if the holders did not enter into "priest's orders." And from the great changes in the value of money, many difficulties of a financial nature had arisen.

Prince Albert, the Prince-Consort, was for several years Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and to him, in 1849, Lord John Russell, as Prime Minister, addressed a letter, informing him that Her Majesty's government had resolved to issue a Commission of enquiry. The results of this commission were published about 1853, and were followed by an Act of Parliament in 1856, appointing a Commission with power to authorize new statutes for the University and Colleges. [Similar action was taken in reference to Oxford in 1854.] The act abolished the power of the Caput Senatus, and constituted a new body called the Council of the Senate, consisting of the Vice-Chancellor, four heads of houses, four professors and eight members of the Senate. This Council was to prepare new statutes for the University, and each College was permitted to prepare new statutes for its own government. These statutes might be modified by the Commission, but if, after such modification, they were approved by the Attorney-General and were not objected to by Parliament, they became law. The Act also declared that all degrees, except those in divinity, might be taken without any declaration of faith, or any subscription, and that all scholarships should be tenable in the same way. New statutes were framed in accordance with the Act. Some of the Colleges allowed their Fellows to marry ; but all still required their Fellows to avow themselves members of the established church. All restrictions as to place of birth were removed, and greater freedom in financial matters was granted the Colleges. Resident graduates were allowed to receive into their houses a certain

number of students who were not members of any college, and in 1869 a Board was formed for the regulation of such students. In 1871 an important change was effected by Parliament, laying open every lay academical degree and office, and every lay collegiate office, without requiring any subscription to any declaration of belief. But the restrictions binding clerical offices were not altered. Such heads of houses, &c., as had been required to be clergymen, must be clergymen still.

The Act of 1856 had undertaken to render available for the purposes of the Universities some portion of the greater wealth of the Colleges. But the difficulties of carrying any definite plan for this purpose into effect, proved so great, that this provision lay practically in abeyance. A discussion of this matter and of the general subject in Parliament, led to the appointment, in 1872, of a Royal Commission of six persons, with the Duke of Cleveland at the head, to enquire into the property and income of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the colleges and halls therein, with the prospects of increase or decrease in such property and income, and to report the uses to which such property and income were applied. A "royal" instead of a "Parliamentary" commission was preferred for what may be considered strategic reasons. The great dignitaries of the Universities would chivalrously give information to their sovereign queen which, like Sir John Falstaff, they could not be made to give "upon compulsion." The work of the commission was done in the most thorough and searching manner, and would serve as a model for an official enquiry into the *status* of any corporation in the world. The report and returns fill three large quarto volumes, which were completed July 31, 1874, and issued from the press a few months later. The heads of all the various institutions, with one exception,¹ made cheerful response.

¹The Rev. Dr. Robert Phelps, Master of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge, declined to make answer to the enquiries of the Commission, but, when pressed,

The reports are given in the minutest detail, and are full of useful and curious information which cannot even be summarized here.

The external income of an American college would probably be classed under two heads : rents from real estate and income from stocks and bonds. The Royal Commission arranged the property of the universities and colleges under six heads, viz. : Lands ; House Property ; Tithe-Rentcharges ; other Rentcharges, such as fee-farm rents and fixed charges ; Stocks, shares and other securities of a similar kind ; and Other Properties, such as fines and other profits from copyholds of inheritance, minerals, timber, &c. The whole of the landed estates comprised 319,718

referred them to a letter which he had addressed to the two gentlemen who represented the University in Parliament, and which had been printed in pamphlet form, with the title : "College Endowments and the Philosophers." The letter was called out by a report in the "Times" newspaper of Nov. 23, 1872, of a meeting of "distinguished savans," which had been held a week previously at the Freemasons' Tavern in London. The Times's report shows that this meeting included representatives (though not delegates) of the Universities, and other gentlemen who were encouraged and stimulated by the initiative of Mr. Gladstone in appointing the Commission. The company included such men as the Rev. Mark Pattison, rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, Sir Benjamin Brodie, Mr. C. T. Newte, Keeper of Greek and Roman antiquities in the British Museum, Profs. Rolleston, Huxley and Seeley. The company were in full harmony with the spirit of a resolution which had been adopted at a previous meeting, declaring that the chief end to be kept in view in any re-distribution of the revenues of Oxford or Cambridge, was the adequate maintenance of mature study and scientific research, as well for their own sakes as with the view of bringing the highest education within the reach of all who were desirous to profit by it. It was urged that the existing system of education tended to make machines, and failed to encourage that original research which was the great thing to be desired; and that the Universities ought not only to diffuse knowledge and information, but should absolutely promote knowledge and investigation. Dr. Phelps took the ground, in his pamphlet, that scientific education was for the few, and for specialists, and not for the many, for whom the existing system of education and association constituted the best training to develop "that frank and manly character and that sound common sense" which have distinguished the Englishman "above the men of all other countries in the world." He gave a full statement of the property and income of the College and the application of its revenues, and recorded his solemn protest "against the national dishonesty of diverting endowments such as those of the Colleges from the objects and from the channels of application designed for them by their founders."

acres, of which 7,683 acres belonged to the University of Oxford, and 184,764 to its colleges and halls; to the University of Cambridge 2,445 acres, and 124,826 to its colleges and halls. Some of these lands were let on beneficial leases, some on copyhold and leasehold for lives; and the remainder and greater part at rack-rent, which is now in England about the same thing as the common form of rent in this country. The system of beneficial leases, which has been very common for centuries in England, is almost unknown here. Under this system only a very small part of the rent value is paid as yearly rent, the remainder being paid as a fine on renewal of the lease. The colleges were restrained by their own statutes, or by law, from granting longer leases than three lives, or 21 years, in the case of land, and for forty years in the case of house property; but a practice arose of adding another life at the end of seven years in the first case, and adding 14 years at the expiration of each term of 14 years in the second case, the lessee paying a handsome fine or premium for the privilege thus granted. But under permissive and semi-mandatory Acts of Parliament the colleges have of late years been converting most of their leases into rack-rents, and so coming into fuller possession of their estates than they previously enjoyed.

The returns showed that of the great amount of property held in trust, there was a part, but only a very small part, of which the beneficial interest was wholly external to the corporation holding the trust.

The total income of the universities and colleges in the year 1871 was £754,405, 5s. 1½d.; of which sum £665,-601, 10s. 2½d. was for corporate use and the remainder subject to conditions of trust, mostly in connection with the corporations. Of this total nearly 82 per cent. was from external revenue, and the remainder from room rents, students' fees, and profits of the "buttery" and kitchen departments.

The external income from corporate property, for 1871, was derived from the following sources :—

From	Univ. Oxford.			Univ. Cambridge.			Colleges &c. Oxford.			Colleges &c. Cambridge.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Lands,	12,083	0	4	3,148	19	8	170,990	11	7½	132,671	0	6
Houses,	1,162	14	2	156	10	0	26,833	6	3	25,993	8	2
Tithe-rents,	490	19	7	1,784	14	5	34,152	15	8	54,286	1	1
Other rents,	872	6	9	333	16	6	4,092	14	10	3,943	2	2
Stocks, &c.,	12,939	6	9	7,648	9	0	24,242	7	10½	16,508	7	5
Other properties,	1,484	16	2	844	19	2	13,574	14	3	20,385	8	8½
Endowment of Master,							6,289	0	6	1,764	9	10
Loans,							27,194	6	2			
	29,043	3	9	13,917.	8	9	307,369	17	2	255,531	17	10½

The heads of the nineteen colleges at Oxford were paid, in 1871, £30,543, 12s. 4d.; those of the seventeen colleges at Cambridge, £20,415, 6s. 11d. These amounts were for the most part paid out of the proper corporate funds of the colleges, but in some cases there are special additions of ecclesiastical preferments, and there are some specific benefactions from trust funds. In the same year was paid at Oxford, £101,171, 4s. 5d. to the Fellows, £26,225, 12s. to Scholars and "Exhibitioners," and £6,694, 10s. 10d. to Professors. At Cambridge, £102,-976, 11s. 2d. to Fellows, £24,308, 13s. to Scholars and Exhibitioners, and £1,011, 11s. 8d. to Professors. The percentage paid for the management of estates at Oxford was about 2.9, at Cambridge about 2.7.

At Oxford the licensed victuallers within the precincts of the University pay a tax to the University authorities of about £200 annually for the privilege of selling wine. The Clarendon Press paid a profit in 1871 of £1,073. The University Press at Cambridge shows an annual profit of some £1,300, but part of this is rather an income from trust funds than from the business itself.

The gross receipts, from both external and internal income, of the University of Oxford, for the year 1885, were £62,106; payments, £60,499; its twenty colleges have a gross income of £436,662. At Cambridge the

gross receipts of the University were £34,998 ; payments, £38,720 ; and the gross income of its seventeen colleges, £309,103. The undergraduates at Oxford, in 1885, numbered 3,090 ; at Cambridge, 2,894.

The learned and able commission of 1872, as may be seen, executed their work in the most thorough manner. But when they had made their report their functions ceased. Parliament, however, was now keenly alive to the importance of further reforms. The views of the "philosophers" who had held their meetings at the Freemasons' Tavern, were coming to be accepted even by the conservative party, which came into power in 1874, and the idea of diverting a part of the college revenues to the universities for the promotion of scientific learning and research made rapid headway. The Marquis of Salisbury, as Chancellor of Oxford and a leading member of the Cabinet, introduced a bill in Parliament, which was passed in 1877, instituting an executive commission which, in coöperation with the colleges themselves, should frame new sets of statutes. Both universities and their colleges are now working under these new statutes, adopted and approved by the Queen some five years ago. The tenure of fellowships is limited, and all reference to the marriage of Fellows has disappeared. No preference of any kind is given to clergymen ; but the service of the English church is still maintained in the college chapels. The colleges are compelled to pay a large and increasing amount to the universities, to enable the latter to maintain a larger staff of university professors and teachers, and to provide new buildings, laboratories and lecture rooms. The teaching of the university is committed to one board, and the charge of the finances to another.¹

¹The Rev. Dr. C. A. Swainson, Master of Christ College, Cambridge, in a most courteous communication to the writer, says that as a result of the recent re-organization of the university, "an immense impetus has been given to work; and by a system of local examinations, conducted by a University Board, and by local lectures delivered in many of the large centres of population and business in England, also by University men, the influence of Cambridge was never so great as now."

When we turn from the Universities to the Schools in which the youth receive their preliminary training, we find that here, too, pious and wealthy men and women have been lavish of their wealth. We find a number of academies around which still lingers the odor of the middle ages, and which, in their foundation, their system and their prevailing customs, are without a parallel elsewhere. They occupy, in popular estimation, a higher plane than do the training-schools of this country; they seem to be coördinate with the universities rather than subordinate; the youth pass from the school to the college as naturally as from one "form" to another in the school, continuing the semi-monastic life with which they have become familiar, rather than entering upon a way of living that is altogether new. That these schools are aristocratic in their character, is claimed by their admirers as their highest virtue. Says their chief eulogist¹ :—

"In many respects they are undoubtedly defective.

Another gentleman, writing from Cambridge, in a letter not intended for publication, says:—"The Commissioners of 1877 only finished their labors in 1882, and the result has yet to be seen. I think most people regard that Commission as premature. * * * * * The revenues of the colleges, being dependent on the rents of land, have sorely diminished in the last four years. The Commission counted on their normal increase, and has left us with a grand scheme which we have no money to execute."

Dr. Brodrick, speaking for Oxford, in the volume before cited, says:—"It is too soon to pronounce judgment on the effect of these reforms, some of which have not yet come into full operation." And, speaking of some existing "anomalies which have been left to adjust themselves by successive commissions and successive groups of university legislators," he adds:—"They have not proved inconsistent with a vigorous internal life; but while they exist and continue to be multiplied, the University cannot be said to have attained a state of stable equilibrium, nor can a poetical unity be imparted to an historical narrative of recent university reforms." He is no pessimist, however, for he says, further:—"In ceasing to be the intellectual stronghold of the mediæval church, or the instrument of Tudor statecraft, or the chosen training-school of the Anglican clergy, it may have lost something of its ancient supremacy, but it has asserted its national character; and it has perhaps never exercised a more widespread control over the national mind than it possesses in these latter years of the nineteenth century."

¹ Howard Staunton: "The Great Schools of England," London, 1869; from which work much of the information in this paper regarding the endowed schools has been obtained.

They neither furnish the best moral training, nor the best mental discipline, nor the most salutary and substantial mental enrichment; they do not form the most accomplished scholars, or the most heroic, exalted and disinterested men; but they are the theatres of athletic manners, and the training-places of a gallant, generous spirit for the English gentleman. * * * The aspiration of the English aristocracy is to be, not the best educated, but for practical purposes the most cultivated. This class, however, does not exist for its own sake; * * * it exists that it may be the national ornament and bulwark; it exists that it may crown that social hierarchy which should symbolize the hierarchy of nature."

The theory that the leaders of society should not be the best educated men in the community, is not yet accepted in America, where the highest education is often the chiefest crown of the most lofty social position.

Of the leading schools of England there are ten which stand out with such prominence, from their history, their size and from the great body of famous men who have been taught within their walls, that they have come to be grouped and to be named together in the mouths of men. They are: Eton, Winchester, Westminster, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Charterhouse, Harrow, Rugby, Shrewsbury and Christ's-Hospital.

Many of the youth who attend these schools begin and finish their education there, and ever retain the warmest attachments for the old institutions. Charles Lamb has given us in his "Recollections of Christ's Hospital," where he was for eight years a pupil, a graphic picture of the every-day life of the school in his time. Thackeray, who was a "Cistercian" at Charterhouse, reverts fondly to the place at intervals in his writings. He places Pendennis and Philip at "Grey Friars" (Christ's Hospital); but it is to Charterhouse that he makes the dazzling Lord Steyne send little Rawdon Crawley; and in the seventy-fifth chapter of "The Newcomes" he eloquently describes an observance of "Foundation Day," and the

discovery among the black-coated pensioners, of that fine old gentleman, Col. Thomas Newcome. It is said that most of the visitors of the present day, after wandering through the “many old halls, old staircases, old passages, old chambers decorated with old portraits, walking in the midst of which we walk, as it were, in the early seventeenth century,”—that these visitors ask the guide, not to show them where this retired soldier or that faded lord was quartered, but to point out the rooms of Col. Newcome; and the guide, true to the instincts of his race, shows, in Wash-house court,—the last remnant of the monastery,—the windows of the room where on a certain evening, “just as the last bell struck, a peculiar sweet smile shone over his [the Colonel’s] face, and he lifted up his head a little, and quickly said ‘*Adsum!*’ and fell back.”

Of these ten great schools Winchester is the eldest, though not the most widely celebrated. Its founder, William of Wykeham, by establishing a lesser college at Winchester, the ancient capital of England, and a larger one as an adjunct to the University at Oxford, aimed to give a goodly number of youth, *pauperes scholares*, the full benefit of a classical education. Wykeham himself did not enjoy a full education, but became first a surveyor and architect, by his merits and success gaining the favor of his King (Edward III.), who loaded him with honors, civil and ecclesiastical. He afterwards became Archbishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor. The foundation stone of his “Seinte Marie College of Wynchestre in Oxford,” generally known as “New College,” was laid in 1380; that of the college or school at Winchester in 1387. The original foundation was for a warden, two masters, ten fellows, three chaplains, three clerks, seventy scholars and sixteen choristers. This number of seventy¹ scholars was

¹ Canon Lisle Bowes tell a story of a great-uncle who like himself was a “Wykehamist” or graduate of Winchester. Dining every Sunday with his uncle while at the school, young Bowes was always treated to a glass of wine and a shilling, while his uncle offered the toast to which they both drank:—

“To the three score and ten!
May God make them happy men!”

maintained until about thirty years ago, when it was increased to 100; and there are now a large number of "commoners" who pay for their board and tuition, not being "on the foundation."¹ In addition to the original foundation by Wykeham, the school was farther enriched by Henry V. at the dissolution of the alien priories, and has had other gifts from time to time, so that its annual

¹ "By the ancient statutes," says Staunton, "a scholar was allowed 8d. a week for commons and was supplied with a piece of cloth sufficient to make a long gown and hood, to be worn for the first year only on Sundays and holidays. The scholars were to sleep in the rooms on the ground floor, beneath the chambers occupied by the Fellows. Until the sixteenth century they slept on bundles of straw, in chambers without flooring. The luxuries of bedsteads and flooring were the provision of Dean Fishmonger, a Wykehamist, whose memory is still cherished with gratitude at Winchester. In the early part of the seventeenth century a scholar paid on his entrance, among other things, for his bedding, viz.:—

30 lbs. of flocks (for the bed),	15s. 0d.
A coverlid,	10s. 0d.
A pair of blankets,	11s. 0d.
3 yards of tick for bolster,	4s. 0d.
Making the bed, bolster, and blankets,	1s. 2d.

He paid for his surplice, £1, 0s., 6d.; for his 'scob,' or box, to hold his books, 3s., 6d.; to his predecessor for glass windows, 1s.; and for learning to write, 14s. The condition of the scholars has been much ameliorated since those times. A scholar, according to the evidence given before the Public School Commissioners, is now well boarded, lodged and educated without any expense to his parents beyond the payment of 30s. a year to the French Master (with an additional two guineas per annum if he learn German), and, if he is not a prefect, a further payment of two guineas to his 'Boy Tutor.' The statutes of Winchester, like those of Eton, stringently prohibit the Master and Usher from 'exacting, asking or claiming' any payment for instruction from their scholars, their parents, or their friends. It nevertheless became the practice at Winchester to insert a charge of £10 in the bills of each scholar for 'masters' gratuities,' with the words 'if allowed' parenthetically added against the item out of respect to the statutory prohibition. This charge was in part found necessary to eke out the scanty pittances which the College paid to the two statutory Masters, and it was seldom objected to until, in the mastership of Dr. Goddard, an appeal was made against it to the Visitor. The Visitor decided that it was saved by the words in parentheses from being an actual charge, and was not therefore illegal. Dr. Goddard, who was Head Master from 1798 to 1810, received this money during his tenure of office, but he felt that, if not illegal, the item was morally questionable, and after his retirement he made a voluntary gift to the College of £25,000 stock, the interest to pay the dividends to the Head and Second Masters for the time being. The former now receives from this source annually £450, and the latter £300. From that time no charge has been made for the instruction of the scholars except in the case of modern languages."

income from its endowments exceeds £15,000, while it holds on special trusts for exhibitioners, &c., the sum of £60,000, with land producing a net income of over £200.

There were originally seventy fellowships at New College, to which scholars graduating from Winchester were alone eligible. There are now thirty fellowships and thirty scholarships, the latter tenable for five years. There are also twenty exhibitions of the value of £50 each, held by the tenants during their stay at Winchester, with other scholarships and prizes of lesser value and importance. The average annual expense to the Wykehamist is £30 for a foundation scholar and £115 to a commoner.

The other great schools of England differ from Winchester in some matters of detail which it is not necessary to follow closely here. Eton College, just opposite to Windsor on the Thames, was founded by Henry VI. in 1440, and christened "Blessed Marie of Etonne beside Wyndesore." It was opened for study three years later, and the same monarch established King's College at Cambridge, which should stand in the same relation to Eton that New College held toward Winchester.

St. Paul's School in London, one of the first really "free" schools in England, was founded by a former dean of the cathedral of St. Paul's, who in the "prologus" to his statutes for the government of his charitable enterprise, sets forth that "John Collett¹ the sonne of Henry Collett, Dean of Paules, desiring nothyng more thanne education and bringing up of children in good manners and literature, in the yere of our Lorde one thousand fyve hundredreth and twelfe, bylded a schole in the estende of Paule's Church, of one hundred and fifty-three,² to be taught free in the same, and ordeyned there a Maister, and a Surmaister, and a

¹ Dr. John Colet was the eldest of twenty-two children, eleven sons and eleven daughters, and he alone remained to inherit the family estates. He was born in London in the year 1466. The mother of this large family survived them all.—*Staunton.*

² Referring, perhaps, to John xxi., 11.

Chappelyn, with a sufficient and perpetual Stipendes ever to endure, and sett Patrones and defenders, Governours and Rules of that Same Schole, the more honest and faithfull Fellowshipps of ‘The Mercers of London.’”¹ He calls it a “Grammar Scole, founded in the Honour of Christe Jesu in Pueritia, and of his Blessed Modir Marie.” He provides for a “Hyghe Maister, * * * a man hoole in body, honest and vertuous, and learned in good and cleane Laten literature, and also in Greke, yf such may be gotten; a Wedded man, a Single man, or a Preste that hath no benefice with cure, benefice that may lett [i. e., conflict with] the due besinesse in the Schole.” He provides also for a “Surmaister,” and a “Chappelyn that dayly as he can be disposed, shall singe Masse in the Chappell of the Scole and pray for the Children to prosper in good life and in good literature, to the Honour of God and our Lord Christ Jesu. He shall teache the children the Catechyson and Instruction of the Articles of the Faythe and the Ten Commandments in Inglishe.” As for the matter of Instruction he provides that “there shall be taught in the Scole Children of all Nations and Contres indifferently to the number of One Hundred and Fifty-three, according to the number of the Seates in the Scole. * * A Childe at the first admission, once for ever, shall paye 4d. for wrytinge of his name; this money of the admission shall the poor Scoler have that sweepeth the Scole and keepeth the Seates cleanc.” “In the Scole, in no tyme in the yere, they shall use talough candell in no wise, but allonly waxe candell, at the costes of theyr frendes.” “In general Processions, when they may be warned, they shall go twayne and twayne together soberly;

¹ “Over the rents and the entire administration of this school,” says Erasmus, “he appointed as trustees, not the clergy, not a bishop, not a chapter as it is called, not dignitaries, but married citizens of established reputation. To one who asked the reason of this he said, that although there is no certain dependence on anything human, he had found less corruption in this kind of men than in any other.”

and not singe out, but say devoutlye tweyne and tweyne seven Psalmes with the Letanye." "Yf any childe after he is receyved and admitted into the scole, go to any other Scole to learne there after the manner of that Scole, then I will that such childe for no man's suit shall be hereafter received into our Scole, but go where him lyste, where his frendes shall thincke shall be better learninge. And this I will be shewed unto his frendes, or other that offer him at his first presenting into the Scole."

"As touching in this Scole what shall be taught of the Maisters, and learned of the Scolers, it passeth my witte to devyse and determine in particular, but in general to speak and sumewhate to saye my mynde, I would they were taught always in good literature bothe Laten and Greke, and good autors such as have the verye 'Romayne' eloquence joyned with wisdom, specially Christen autors, that wrote their wisdome with clean and chaste Laten, other in verse or in prose, for my intent by this Scole specially to encrease knowledge and worshippinge of God and Our Lord Christ Jesu, and good Christen life and manners in the children."

Dean Collett provided that any surplus income should be kept in "a coffer of iurn"; but it is now better employed, either in exhibitions to poor scholars going from the school to the universities, or lent to poor young men of the Mercer's company, on good security. The property held for the support of the school consists of houses, lands, rents, consols and fines upon copyhold. The annual income exceeds £12,000. Instead of the original staff there are now seven masters, whose salaries range from £900 for the high master to £100 for the assistant master of French. The high master has also the rents of two houses, a residence for himself with rates, taxes and repairs free, and a master's gown every year. The three classical masters have the same perquisites, except the extra rents. At many of the endowed schools there are a large number of

have their lodgings and seven pence each per week. A part of the property left for the support of the school consisted of about eight acres near London, which produced a yearly rent of £8 at that time, and upwards of £5,000 at present. The court of chancery and Parliament have had occasion to act upon the matter of this trust, which is now managed by twelve "Trustees of the Rugby Charity, founded by Lawrence Sheriff, Grocer of London." The increase in the foundation allows the maintenance of a staff including a head master, thirteen assistant and classical masters, four mathematical masters, three masters of modern languages, one of natural science, one of writing, two of drawing, a librarian, five fellows, twenty exhibitioners, a chapel clerk, a verger, and twelve almsmen. The head master's stipend of "twelve pounds" has increased to an income of over £1,700, with some £800 from the profits of boarders, in addition to a handsome residence and a fine garden; and the 7d. per week allotted to the bedesmen has become a hundred pence. Of the founders, or boys entitled to gratuitous education in part, there are some eighty, and of non-foundations about five times that number.

An honest yeoman, one John Lyon of Harrow-upon-the-Hill, procured a charter from Queen Elizabeth, three hundred years ago (1571), for a free grammar school for the male youth of the parish, with a proviso that the school-master might receive as many "foreigners" (or boys from outside the town) as could be accommodated. The "foreigners" have for many years been in the majority, so that Harrow is nearly as famous and well patronized as any of her sisters nine.

Of the ten great schools, Eton, Winchester, Harrow and Rugby lie within a radius of forty miles from London; Shrewsbury is more distant; and the remaining five,—Westminster (founded by Queen Elizabeth), St. Paul's,

Merton Priory, Charter House and Christ's Hospital.—were all founded outside the limits of the great city. Charter House was the nucleus of a Carthusian monastery, built in the reign of Edward III., and seized by Henry VII. in 1500. It became the residence of Sir Thomas Sackville, a wealthy London merchant, afterwards created Earl of Dorset, by command from King James, and remained a residence of the hospital or retreat for old gentlemen. A portion of it still occupies the site of a fine manor house, now pulled down, and is still frequently called "Merton." Charter

House was founded in 1399 by Sir Thomas Cawarden, a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company, one of the oldest and most numerous livery companies which the City can boast, is due to the wisdom and munificence of the Marchant Taylors," a society of clothiers, who formed a Fraternity from time immemorial, known as the "Lamourers," and which had their first charter granted to them by King Edward I.; a company which has always been prominent in the history of England, and, four foreign sovereigns among its members, and distinguished characters in every walk of life.

Christ's Hospital, founded in 1516 by King Henry VIII., is situated in the Strand, about half a mile west from London, in a large building-school. While in existence it contained about fifty boarders not on the strength of the school, but in more generous accommodations, and provided a number of boys for twelve years of age, for the service of the royal household. The "home" for eighty boys is now removed to a new and site in London. They receive £100 a year, and handsome apartments and clothes, and a gown to value £25 and a gown

Merton Priory, founded in 1216 by King John, was removed, in 1538, to the Charterhouse, by the Marchant Taylors' Company, desirous of getting rid of it, and having bought that of the Charterhouse, for £10,000 more in buildings and lands, and £1000 per annum for the maintenance and supplies the sons of the Merchant Taylors, who are educated at the nominal sum of two guineas a week, and receive two guineas for the upper, school fees. Some of the schoolmasters are pensioners, and now contains nothing but the schoolroom, which is occupied by boys between ten and twenty years of age. It is noted for being one of the worst schools in the metropolis, and out of the corporate funds of the Merchant Taylors' Company, which amount is some £5000 a year above the charge of the school.

Westminster school and the schoolmaster, although the same reasons which caused Charterhouse and the country were applied to Westminster. But the Londoners will not let it go, and it will doubtless gradually develop

the latter name. It is also called the "blue coat school," from the picturesque garb of the youth attending it. The long, blue coat of the scholars reaching to the ankles and held by a leather strap at the waist, the yellow stockings, and, if in winter, the petticoat of the same color, with the head bare at all seasons of the year, frequently attract the eye of the passenger in the London streets, presenting a charming bit of color in an atmosphere generally so dull.¹

more and more in the direction of a day school, drawing its patronage from the upper classes of London and its neighborhood.

St. Paul's school was transferred July 23, 1884, to a new Gothic building at Hammersmith, built to accommodate one thousand boys—five hundred on the classical, and five hundred on the modern side—and costing £120,000, besides £40,000 for the site of fourteen acres.

The school at Shrewsbury, crowded by the growth of the city and hampered for want of room, was, after long discussion, removed to a new site in the outskirts, in 1882, exchanging a site of two and one-half acres for one of twenty-seven acres. It now has two hundred and fifty boys, the number of boarders having increased from one hundred and twenty at the old site to two hundred and four at the present term, and the wisdom of the removal is generally recognized. The old school-building, which has been judiciously repaired and will be carefully preserved, is now used as a museum and public library and reading-room.

For most of the information contained in this note the writer is indebted to the following-named Masters of the schools: Rev. W. Gunion Rutherford, M.A., Westminster; Rev. Wm. Haig Brown, LL.D., Charterhouse; Rev. Wm. Baker, D.D., Merchant Taylors'; Rev. H. Whitehead Moss, Shrewsbury.

¹ The great English schools, like our American colleges, have their own songs which are handed down from class to class, and sung at appropriate times. That of Winchester had its origin in a mournful incident. Some three centuries ago, a youth, who was left to pass the long vacation at the school alone, bore his solitude for a few weeks, and then, after carving the words "Dulce Domum" on the bark of a tree, took to his lonely room and died of a broken heart. A Latin hymn, still sung at the school, was written under the inspiration of this event, beginning:—

“Concinnamus, O sodales!
Eja! quid silemus?
Nobile canticum,
Dulce melos, domum!
Domum, domum, resonemus!”

CHORUS.

“Domum, domum, dulce domum!
Domum, domum, dulce domum!
Dulce, dulce, dulce domum!
Domum, domum, resonemus!”

Besides the famous "Ten" great schools of England there are, in that country and Wales, some six hundred grammar schools which have received, from time to time, greater or less endowments which, modified in many cases by the court of chancery or other authority, are still in force. Very few of these are absolutely free schools, the endowment generally serving only to lessen, in greater or less measure, the cost of instruction. In most of them the instructions of the founders require that the master shall be one who has taken priest's orders, and many of them reward their best scholars with "exhibitions" at one of the great universities.

The song of Harrow, as will be seen, is of a much more cheerful nature:—

" Three leagues to north of London town,
Harrow up on the Hill,
There stands a school of high renown,
Harrow up on the Hill.
Low at her feet the rolling shire,
Groves around her in green attire,
And soaring above her a silent spire,
Harrow up on the Hill.

" Men of honor in English realms,—
Harrow up on the Hill,—
Have roamed as boys beneath her elms,
Harrow up on the Hill,
And round the school which loves to claim
The heirloom of their noble name
They cast a halo of their fame,
Harrow up on the Hill.

" Others may boast of a Founder-King.
Harrow up on the Hill.
We have a different birth to sing,
Harrow up on the Hill.
Glorious founders have there been,
But never a grander pair were seen
Than Yeoman John and the Virgin Queen:
Harrow up on the Hill.

" And if they ask what made her great,
Harrow up on the Hill.
Was it riches, pride, or fate?
Harrow up on the Hill.
Say that she rose because she would,
Because her sons were wise and good,
And bound in closest brotherhood!
Harrow up on the Hill."

In 1449 Archdeacon Sponne founded a college and chantry at Towcester, Northampton, for two priests to say mass for his soul and the souls of his friends. A hundred years later the feoffees of his will bought the chantry, college and messuage, and, under the resulting merger, established a grammar school for the free instruction of the youth of the village. At Walkeingham, one Robert Woodhouse, in 1719, founded a free school, but excluded from its benefits : (1) those who would keep up the harvest feast at Walkeingham ; (2) persons opposed to the majority in making orders for the good government of the town ; (3) such poor persons as beg, or work abroad when there should be good work in the town, and are not content with common wages. Sir Thomas Boteler in 1526 founded a school at Warrington, at which any boy might be taught

And here is the Eton boating song :—

Jolly boating weather,
With a hay-harvest breeze;
Blade on the feather,
Shade off the trees;
Swing, swing together,
With our bodies between our knees.

(Chorus)— Swing, swing together,
With our bodies between our knees.

Rugby may be more clever,
Harrow may make more row,
But we'll row together
Steady from stroke to bow,
And nothing in life shall sever
The charm that is round us now.

Others may fill our places,
Drest in the old light blue;
We'll recollect our races,
We'll to the flag prove true;
And youth will be still in our faces
When we cheer for an Eton crew.

Twenty years hence this weather
Will tempt us from office stools;
We may be slow on the feather
And seem to the boys old fools;
But we'll still sing together
And swear by the best of schools.

grammar "freely, except a cockpenny¹ and three potation pennies in the year." In 1792 Margaret Hodgson founded a school for the free tuition of poor boys and girls of Aikton and two neighboring parishes, and of "all persons of the name of Hodgson, wherever they should come from." So children of all families of the name of Pinchbeck, may have free instruction at Butterwick school, whose master, "if possible," must be named Pinchbeck, as provided by the founder, one Anthony Pinchbeck, in 1665. Dr. Samuel Johnson endeavored to obtain the place of master of the school at Appleby in Leicestershire, declaring that "it would make him happy for life, and save him from being starved to death in translating for booksellers." At Beverley in Yorkshire is a grammar school, founded before 1500 and enriched by subsequent foundations, among which is the bequest of Mrs. M. Farrer who in 1669 left money, the interest of which was to be devoted towards the maintenance at school and college, of "an honest man's son." The rector at Church Langton, in 1767, left a trust to provide "schools forever," "organs forever" and "beef forever." A school was established at Drigg with a "hut" for a master, but the income of the fund is only £1, which is not enough to either maintain the school or warm a hut.

The charity which is inculcated by the teachings of Christ has not confined itself to the spread of religion and education nor to the relief of poverty. The bodily and mental infirmities of men early called forth the sympathy of their more fortunate fellows, and the great hospitals of London and other parts of England stand as monuments of

¹ *Cockpenny*.—"At Shrovetide the scholars used to make a present to the master, out of which he had to procure a cock which he fastened by a string to a post and fixed in a pit for the boys to pelt with sticks. If a boy hit the cock it became his property; if no boy hit it, the master took it for himself. Other accounts made the cockpenny to have been a contribution to the expense of providing cocks for a fight."—*Schools Enquiry Commission Report*: Vol. I, p. 113, note. London: 1868.

the piety and charity of their founders. The sturdy, healthy Saxons who went forth to the East in the crusades, brought back to their native land diseases which had there been previously unknown, and about the year 1080 Lafranc, archbishop of Canterbury, opened two hospitals, one devoted especially to the victims of leprosy, and the other for sufferers from other diseases. It is curious to note that the word "hospital" was long used by the English to denote a retreat for the poor (*hospitium*) as well as a place for medical or surgical treatment. Thus Christ's Hospital, founded by Edward VI. in 1553, as a retreat where orphans and, in some cases, foundlings¹ might receive an education, has ever since been devoted to its original purpose. The same monarch established St. Thomas's Hospital for the poor by casualty, as the maimed, the sick and the diseased; and Bridewell (at the old palace of that name), for the thriftless poor, the victims of idleness or vice. These three foundations of Edward, with St. Bartholomew's and Bethlehem, have long been classed together as the Five Royal Hospitals of the City of London. The last named institution was originally a religious house, which, having been suppressed by Henry VIII., was, in 1547, converted by the city of London into a hospital for the insane, and since 1814 has been established in more spacious quarters in St. George's Fields. The cockneyized form of Bethlehem, "Bedlam," has long been an accepted and significant word in our vocabulary. Bridewell has from the beginning served as a house of correction, or industrial school, and this name also has come to have a generic meaning. St. Bartholomew's owes its origin to the minstrel Rahere who, having fallen ill in Rome when on a pilgrimage, registered a vow that if he recovered he would found a hospital for the poor in his own country. Accordingly at Smethe-feld, now Smithfield, on land belonging to King Henry I., he

¹Only "in cases of extremitye, where loss of liffe and perishinge would presentlye followe, if they be not receaved into the said Hospital."

built a hospital and a priory church. The choir of the ancient building still stands, exhibiting the grand style of the early Norman architecture, and constitutes the oldest church in London. A medical school is attached to the hospital, and the latter, enjoying an annual income of about £40,000, administers aid to some 70,000 patients annually.

The endowed hospitals of England are within the scope of the "Statute of Charitable Uses," which included in the realm of charity, "the relief of aged, impotent and poor people, and the maintenance of sick and maimed soldiers and mariners."

We come now to an English trust, founded by an American citizen, which is still unique among the charities of Great Britain. It is twenty-five years since Mr. George Peabody evinced the philanthropy of his nature by addressing a letter to the Hon. Charles Francis Adams (then our minister at the Court of St. James), Rt. Hon. Lord Stanley, Sir J. E. Tennet, Curtis M. Lamson (an American who had been knighted for services in connection with the Atlantic telegraph), and Mr. J. S. Morgan, his own partner, informing those gentlemen that the sum of £150,000 had been placed to their credit on the books of the London banking-house of George Peabody & Co., to be applied by them for the benefit of the poor of that city. To this amount he added £200,000 in his life-time, and at his death (in 1869) left £150,000 by will, thus constituting a total fund of a round half-million sterling. The public institutions of London were already sufficient for those who may be called the chronic poor; and the trustees of Mr. Peabody's charity wisely decided to devote it to ameliorating the condition of the deserving portion of the great working-class. To that end the income has been devoted, as fast as practicable, to the purchase of land in the densely populated districts of London, and the building of model blocks of dwelling-houses, in which tenements are leased at a rate no greater than the tenants had previously been compelled

to pay for homes of the most wretched kind ;—a rate, however, which, while meeting the costs of maintenance, also adds a trifle to the principal of the fund itself. During the year 1886 the trustees opened five new blocks of buildings, containing 262 rooms, increasing the total number of inhabitable rooms to 11,150, and furnishing comfortable homes to 20,228 persons, at an average rent of fifty cents a week for each room occupied, with the free use of a court-yard and of the bath-rooms and laundries contained in every block. The net gain, from rents and interest, in 1886, was £29,656, and the net gain from the start has been £410,668, or more than eighty-two per cent. of the principal. It was predicted by Sir Curtis Lamson, at the outset, that the fund would accumulate in two hundred years to a sum sufficient to provide for three-fourths of all the industrious poor of London.

Until the beginning of the fifteenth century there were no colleges in Scotland, and the youth of that country were compelled to cross the Tweed to gain the higher education. The Scotch founders of Balliol College, Oxford, provided for the free instruction of a certain number of Scottish students, about the year 1263, and in 1326 the Bishop of Moray founded the Scottish College in the University of Paris. In 1411, however, the University of St. Andrews was established. Others followed, and the Scotch universities are now of a high order. The students, as a rule, do not live in college buildings, or halls, but find lodgings and board for themselves in the manner first in vogue at Oxford and Cambridge. A compulsory, free education for all was a leading tenet of the Presbyterian church, at the start. “No fader, of what estait and condition that ever he be, use his children at his own fantasie, especially in their youtheade, but all must be compelled to bring up their children in learnyng and virtue.” In 1567 Parliament compelled patrons who had “provestries, prebendaries, altarages or chaplaincies at their gift to present bursars

[exhibitioners] to studie in anie college or universitie of this realm."¹ The efforts of John Knox to apply the whole revenue of the disestablished Roman Catholic church to education and to the new church were baffled by the nobles, who determined that "the kirkmen shall intromett with the two parts of their benefices, and the third part lifted up to the ministers' and Queene's use";—of which action Knox said that "two parts were freely given to the Devill," and the third part was "divided between God and the Devill."

One public charity in the city of Edinburgh attracts our attention, because it has been managed with a truly Scottish thrift, and with an honesty that may be cosmopolitan but is not universal. The memory of its founder, George Heriot, has been embalmed by Sir Walter Scott in "The Fortunes of Nigel." Heriot, says Sir Walter, "was a wealthy citizen of Edinburgh, and the King's goldsmith, who followed James² to the English capital, and was so successful in his profession as to die, in 1624, extremely wealthy for that period. He had no children; and, after making a full provision for such relatives as might have claims upon him, he left the residue of his fortune to establish a hospital, in which the [poor, fatherless] sons of Edinburgh freemen are gratuitously brought up and educated for the station to which their talents may recommend them, and are finally enabled to enter life under respectable auspices. * * *

To the honor of those who have the management (the Magistrates and Clergy of Edinburgh), the funds of the

¹ Sir Lyon Playfair, in his address at the 250th anniversary of Harvard College, November 8, 1886, drew the following comparison between the English and Scotch universities:—"Oxford and Cambridge could carry on education for its own sake, but the Scotch universities based their instruction on the learned professions which have been liberalized by academic teaching and academic influences. The English universities are attended by rich students; the Scotch universities by poor students. The difference as to the result was that English universities aimed at teaching their graduates to spend a thousand pounds a year with dignity and intelligence, while the Scotch universities taught men to make a thousand pounds a year with dignity and intelligence."

² James VI. of Scotland; James I. of England.

Hospital have increased so much under their care, that it now [1831] supports and educates 130 youths annually, many of whom have done honor to their country, in different situations." Another account of Heriot says that he originally added the business of a money-lender to that of a goldsmith, and that he was largely indebted for his fortune to the extravagance of the queen, and to the imitation of that extravagance by the nobility.

The original fund left by Heriot was £23,625. It has now increased nearly thirty fold, viz., to £667,134. The income in 1886 was, from grain feu duties £1,887, from money feu duties £19,475, from rents of houses and lands £2,268, from other sources £4,118; a total of £27,748, or more than the original principal. The number of boys now maintained on the original foundation at the hospital is 180, of whom 120 are resident. A large number of schools in different parts of Edinburgh are maintained from the rapidly expanding fund. The hospital itself is in the "old town," but a very large portion of the "new town" stands upon land which is held by the managers of the Heriot trust.

In striking contrast with past endowments of the English and Scotch universities, is the recently published provision in the will of the late Lord Gifford of Scotland. After giving his body "to the earth as it was before, in order that the enduring blocks and materials thereof may be employed in new combinations," and his soul "to God, in whom and with whom it always was, to be in Him and with Him forever in closer and more conscious union," he says:—

"I having been for many years deeply and firmly convinced that the true knowledge of God, that is of the being, nature, and attributes of the infinite, of the all, of the first and the only cause, that is, the one and only substance and being, and the true and felt knowledge (not mere nominal knowledge) of the relations of man and of the universe to him, and of the true foundations of all ethics and morals—

being, I say, convinced that this knowledge, when really felt and acted on, is the means of man's highest well being and the security of his upward progress, I have resolved * * * to institute and found, in connection, if possible, with the Scottish Universities, lectureships or classes for the promotion of the study of said objects, and for the teaching and diffusion of sound views regarding them, among the whole population of Scotland."

He therefore leaves, to the University of Edinburgh £25,000; to the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen £20,000 each; and to the University of St. Andrews £15,000, to found lectureships or "popular chairs" "for promoting, advancing, teaching and diffusing the study of natural theology, in the widest sense of that term; in other words, the knowledge of God, the infinite, the all, the first and only cause, the one and the sole substance, the sole being, the sole reality and the sole existence, the knowledge of his nature and attributes, the knowledge of the relations which men and the whole universe bear to him, the knowledge of the nature and foundation of ethics or morals, and of all obligations and duties thence arising. The Senatus Academicus in each of the four universities, or the bodies substituted to them respectively, shall be the patrons of the several lectureships, and the administrators of the said respective endowments, and of the affairs of each lectureship in each city. I call them for shortness simply the 'patrons.' Now, I leave all the details and arrangements of each lectureship in the hands and in the discretion of the 'patrons' respectively, who shall have full power from time to time to adjust and regulate the same in conformity as closely as possible to the following brief principles and directions, which shall be binding on each and all of the 'patrons' as far as practicable and possible. I only indicate leading principles."¹

¹The document goes on to direct the manner of investing the fund, of appointing the lecturers and of conducting the lectures, and continues:—

"The lecturers appointed shall be subjected to no test of any kind, and shall not be required to take any oath, or to emit or subscribe any declaration of

There are many great charitable trusts in our own country, which from their magnitude and their individuality, present an equally curious study with those of Great Britain. But a proper review of these domestic trusts would greatly exceed the necessary limits of this paper.

For the Council,

CHARLES A. CHASE.

belief, or to make any promise of any kind; they may be of any denomination whatever, or of no denomination at all (and many earnest and high-minded men prefer to belong to no ecclesiastical denomination); they may be of any religion or way of thinking, or, as is sometimes said, they may be of no religion, or they may be so-called sceptics, or agnostics, or free-thinkers, provided only that the 'patrons' will use diligence to secure that they be able, reverent men, true thinkers, sincere lovers of and earnest inquirers after truth. I wish the lecturers to treat their subject as a strict natural science, the greatest of all possible sciences—indeed, in one sense, the only science—that of Infinite Being—without reference to or reliance upon any supposed special exceptional or so-called miraculous revelation. I wish it considered just as astronomy or chemistry is. I have intentionally indicated, in describing the subject of the lectures, the general aspect which personally I would expect the lectures to bear, but the lecturers shall be under no restraint whatever in their treatment of their theme; for example, they may freely discuss (and it may be well to do so) all questions about man's conceptions of God or the infinite, their origin, nature, and truth, whether he can have any such conceptions, whether God is under any or what limitations, and so on, as I am persuaded that nothing but good can result from free discussion. The lectures shall be public and popular, that is, open not only to students of the universities, but to the whole community, without matriculation, as I think that the subject should be studied and known by all, whether receiving university instruction or not. I think such knowledge, if real, lies at the root of all well-being. And my desire and hope is that these lectureships and lectures may promote and advance among all classes of the community the true knowledge of him who is, and there is none and nothing beside him, in whom we live and move and have our being, and in whom all things consist, and of man's real relationship to him whom truly to know is life everlasting."

See *The Weekly Scotsman*, March 12, 1887; *Boston Post*, April 2, 1887.

PLINY EARLE CHASE.

By SAMUEL S. GREEN.

PLINY EARLE CHASE, the eldest son of Anthony and Lydia (Earle) Chase, was born in Worcester, Mass., August 18, 1820. His father was a vigorous thinker, a man of clear and comprehensive mind, who was influential in the establishment and management of several important educational and financial institutions. Among the positions which he was called upon to occupy, was that of Treasurer of the County of Worcester, an office held by him for thirty-four years, and, after his resignation, by his youngest son¹ for the succeeding eleven years. Between the years 1823 and 1835 he was a partner of his brother-in-law, the late Hon. John Milton Earle, in the ownership of the *Massachusetts Spy*, now the oldest existing newspaper in Massachusetts. That paper, it will be remembered, was established and for many years published by Isaiah Thomas, the founder of the American Antiquarian Society.²

Pliny Earle Chase was named for his mother's father, Pliny Earle of Leicester, Mass., a gentleman who had the honor of introducing into this country the manufacture of machine card-clothing. It is interesting to note that this industry was established here as a result of efforts made by Mr. Earle in meeting exigencies that arose in the experience of Samuel Slater at Pawtucket (then a part of Massachusetts, now in Rhode Island), originating, in 1790, the manufacture in the United States of cotton cloth by

¹ Charles Augustus Chase.

² For an account of the life of Anthony Chase, see Comley's History of Massachusetts. Boston: Comley Brothers, 1879.

mechanical power.¹ Among the other children of Pliny Earle were the late John Milton Earle of Worcester, the late Thomas Earle of Philadelphia and Dr. Pliny Earle of Northampton. During a series of years beginning with 1823 and ending a few years before his death, which occurred in 1874, John Milton Earle was the editor and principal or sole proprietor of the *Massachusetts Spy*, as he was also of the *Worcester Daily Spy* after its establishment in 1845.² Thomas Earle was a prominent lawyer and the candidate of the Liberty Party in 1840 for Vice-President of the United States.³ Dr. Pliny Earle, after having been superintendent of two other hospitals for the insane, namely, the Asylum at Frankford near Philadelphia, and the Bloomingdale Asylum of New York City, served for twenty-one years as Superintendent of one of the State Lunatic Hospitals of Massachusetts,—in Northampton,— withdrawing from the last named position in 1885.

Thomas Chase, late President of Haverford College, is a younger brother of the late Pliny E. Chase. Mrs. Lydia E. Chase, the mother of the subject of this brief memoir, was a woman of remarkable strength of mind and independence of character.

Pliny Chase attended the common schools in Worcester and Friends' Boarding School in Providence. His schoolmate, Mr. Edward Winslow Lincoln, of the former place, writing of his presence in the Boys' Latin School of that

¹ Pliny Earle made for Mr. Slater the first cards for carding either cotton or wool by machinery, that were made in America. The holes in the leather for 100,000 of the teeth were pricked by hand by Mr. Earle, with two needles in the end of a stick. In 1805 Pliny Earle and Brothers began building carding machines for cotton and wool. In 1829 great improvements in the machinery for making card clothing were made by Pliny Earle's son, William Buffum Earle, whose machines have always maintained a high reputation. See, further, History of the American Card-Clothing Industry by H. G. Kittredge and A. C. Gould. Published by the T. K. Earle Manufacturing Company, Worcester, Mass., 1886.

² Lincoln's History of Worcester, continued by Charles Hersey, pp. 277 and 427.

³ Johnson's New Universal Cyclopædia, article Earle (Thomas).

town, states that from the first moment he entered the school he was "the object of an affection that few succeeded in winning."¹ He entered Harvard College without a condition in 1835, and graduated with high rank in 1839. Mr. Lincoln, and our associate, Rev. Dr. Hale,² who were both classmates of Chase, speak of him as distinguished while in college for general scholarship, and particularly for a remarkable proficiency in mathematics. Dr. Hale writes, "he was a quiet, unobtrusive young man, but a favorite in the class from his uniform courtesy and a measure of humor which never left him during his life."

In 1844 Mr. Chase took the degree of Master of Arts at Cambridge. Nearly the whole of his life he was engaged in the occupation of teaching. Immediately after graduation from college he had the charge of schools in Leicester and Worcester, Mass.; then went to Providence, R. I., to teach, and afterwards, for the same purpose, to Philadelphia. Most of the years 1844 and 1845 he spent in New England, and during a portion of that time he assisted in cataloguing the library of this society. Returning to Philadelphia in the autumn of 1845, he resumed the work of teaching, but was obliged to relinquish it in 1848 and engage in other pursuits for several years, on account of severe hemorrhages from the lungs. Soon after 1848 he entered into a partnership for carrying on the stove and foundry business in Philadelphia, Pa., and Wilmington, Del.³

In 1861 Mr. Chase resumed the occupation of teaching, in Philadelphia. In 1870 he visited Europe, and in the following year was appointed Professor of Natural Science

¹ Letters printed in the *Worcester Daily Spy* of February 9, 1887. ² *Id.*

³ While engaged in mercantile pursuits he was visited by Mr. Lincoln. The latter writes that he "found him established in one of those rectangles that so exasperate the average yankee, engaged in solving a problem and selling a Franklin stove, with considerable friction between the two occupations. Upon my asking him," he says, "with unaffected wonder, what induced the scholar of our class to dissipate in hardware, he assuaged my indignation with the softly spoken, 'Thee must see, Edward, the multiple of bread and butter!'"

in Haverford College, with which institution he was thenceforward connected until his death. He also served for several months as an acting professor in the University of Pennsylvania, in the place of Professor Fraser who had died in office. In 1875 a new chair, that of Philosophy and Logic, was established in Haverford College and Professor Chase was transferred to it. The subjects placed under his charge in that position were particularly congenial to a man constituted as he was. In 1876 the degree of LL.D. was conferred on him by Haverford College, on account of his attainments and original researches in mental and physical philosophy. On the organization of Bryn Mawr College in 1884 he was appointed Lecturer on Psychology and Logic in that institution. In 1886 he presided at the Commencement exercises of Haverford College as Acting-President. He died December 17 of the same year. Mr. Chase married, June 28, 1843, Elizabeth Brown Oliver¹ of Lynn, Mass. They had six children, of whom five, two sons and three daughters, as well as Mrs. Chase, are still living.

The first book published by Mr. Chase, probably, was *The Elements of Arithmetic, Part First*, 1844. This was followed by *Part Second*; in 1848, by the *Common School Arithmetic*; and, in 1850, by a new work on the same subject, prepared in conjunction with Horace Mann. In 1884 he published "Elements of Meteorology for Schools and Households. Part I., Practical Instructions. Part II., Principles and Scholia." This is perhaps the first attempt to put this subject in a simple and popular form.²

Mr. Chase delivered many lectures and addresses, and made many contributions to periodical literature. His

¹ Niece of Gould Brown, the author of the valuable "Grammar of English Grammars."

² Paper in the *Haverfordian* for January, 1887, by Professor Allen C. Thomas of Haverford College. Much of the matter in the portion of this notice which follows has been taken from Professor Thomas's paper, and no inconsiderable part of it is expressed in his own words.

most important papers appeared in the transactions and proceedings of the American Philosophical Society. In the proceedings for November 5, 1880, may be found a "List of Papers communicated to the American Philosophical Society by Pliny Earle Chase, LL.D." They number in all 119, beginning with one on Sanscrit and English roots and analogies, September 17, 1858, and ending with a paper on relations of chemical affinity to luminous and cosmical energies, April 16, 1880. The titles of the contributions show a wide range of investigation in philology, meteorology and physics. After 1863 Professor Chase confined his attention chiefly to the last two subjects, and especially to the confirmation of the general postulate that "all physical phenomena are due to an Omnipresent Power acting in ways which may be represented by harmonic or cyclical undulations in an elastic medium." Sixteen papers appeared in the proceedings of the American Philosophical Society after 1880. Professor Chase was also a contributor to the American Journal of Arts and Sciences (Silliman's), to The London, Dublin and Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine, to the *Comptes Rendus* of Paris and to the Journal of the Franklin Institute. For the last-named periodical he had for a number of years prepared the scientific notes or gleanings from other scientific publications, chiefly foreign. In 1864 the Magellanic medal of the American Philsophical Society was awarded to him for his paper on the "Numerical relations of Gravity and Magnetism."

"Professor Chase," writes Allen C. Thomas, a fellow professor at Haverford College, "belonged to that class of philosophers who are ahead of their times, men who see, though it may be imperfectly and dimly, very deeply into the relation of things, and whose speculations, like those of the Marquis of Worcester, though misunderstood and perhaps even unintelligible to contemporaries, contain truths grasped and accepted by future generations."

Professor Chase was for several years one of the Secreta-

ries of the American Philosophical Society, and latterly one of its Vice-Presidents. He was a member of many scientific and literary societies in the United States and foreign countries. He became a member of the American Antiquarian Society in October, 1863. He was an enthusiastic botanist. "Though language," writes Professor Thomas, "was in later years quite a side issue, he was an unusually able linguist and could speak with comparative ease six or seven languages, while with the aid of a dictionary he could read 120, including dialects. He was one of the two or three men in the country who could read Eliot's Indian Bible." "Rarely," writes the same gentleman, "does it fall to the lot of any one to meet a purer life, a kindlier heart, a greater simplicity, a more perfect humility. Never putting himself forward, he was always ready to listen to others, and always treated them with kindness and consideration. His own extensive attainments were kept in the background, so much so, indeed, that many of his friends were not by any means aware of the extent and variety of his knowledge."

Mr. Chase was born and brought up among members of the Society of Friends, and always had the strongest attachment to its principles. In later years, although never officially recorded as a minister of the society, he frequently spoke in the ministry, and it is stated that his discourses will long be remembered by his hearers. Professor J. P. Lesley of Philadelphia, in an informal letter to the writer of this notice, pays the following tribute to his friend. The "mathematical abilities" of Pliny Chase "were of the highest order; and his long series of memoirs on what he called the Harmonics of the Solar system, were so remarkable that they were reprinted by the physicists of London. But there were as few who comprehended them as who could read Pierce's mathematics. Pliny was one of the best of men, of the sweetest temper possible, an excellent teacher, adored by his pupils, and is lamented by all of us!"

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith submits his semi-annual report of receipts and disbursements for the six months ending April 1, 1887.

Under the direction of the Finance Committee the Treasurer has carried to each fund, from the income of the investments, three per cent. on the amount of each fund as it stood October 1, 1886.

A detailed statement of the investments is given as a part of this report, showing the par and market value of the various stocks and bonds.

The total of the investments and cash on hand April 1, 1887, was \$103,011.18, divided among the several funds as follows:

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$39,956.09
The Collection and Research Fund,.....	17,885.07
The Bookbinding Fund,.....	6,651.86
The Publishing Fund,.....	19,005.22
The Isaac Davis Book Fund,.....	1,532.33
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	2,470.50
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	1,189.79
The Salisbury Building Fund,.....	4,966.27
The Alden Fund,.....	1,067.46
The Tenney Fund,.....	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,.....	1,165.95
The George Chandler Fund,.....	514.42
Premium Account,.....	731.12
Income Account,.....	104.51
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	\$103,011.18

The income of the Tenney Fund for the past six months has been transferred to the Librarian's and General Fund.

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$481.33.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the past six months, ending April 1, 1887, is as follows:

DR.

1886. Oct. 1. Balance of cash as per last report,.....	\$15,753.78
1887. April 1. Received for interest to date,.....	2,651.48
" " Received for life assessments,.....	100.00
" " Received for annual assessments,.....	65.00
" " Received from sale of publications,.....	60.00
" " Received from sale of books and pamphlets,.....	260.10
" " Drawn from savings banks,.....	368.73
	<u>\$19,259.09</u>

CR.

By salaries to April 1, 1887,.....	\$1,559.98
By expense of repairs,.....	43.55
For publishing "Proceedings,"	218.78
Bonds purchased,.....	3,000.00
Premium on bonds,.....	120.00
Insurance,.....	240.00
Books purchased,.....	282.65
Loans on real estate security,.....	12,200.00
Loan on railroad bond security,.....	1,000.00
Incidental expenses,.....	167.80
	<u>\$18,777.76</u>
Balance in cash April 1, 1887,.....	<u>481.38</u>
	<u>\$19,259.09</u>

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.*The Librarian's and General Fund.*

Balance of Fund, Oct. 1, 1886,.....	\$89,795.48
Income to April 1, 1887,.....	1,193.86
Life assessments,.....	100.00
Transferred from Tenney Fund,.....	150.00
	<u>\$41,239.34</u>
Paid for salaries,.....	\$943.32
Paid for insurance,.....	240.00
Incidental expenses,.....	99.33
	<u>\$1,282.65</u>

1887, April 1. Amount of Fund,.....	\$39,956.69
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The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1886,.....	\$17,704.15
Income to April 1, 1887,.....	791.22
	<u>\$18,496.37</u>
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals,...	610.30
1887, April 1. Amount of Fund,.....	<u>\$17,885.07</u>

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1886,.....	\$6,441.92
Income to April 1, 1887,.....	198.26
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	\$6,635.18
Paid to Assistant-Librarian,.....	88.33
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1887, April 1. Amount of Fund,.....	\$6,551.85

The Publishing Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1886,.....	\$19,474.76
Income to April 1, 1887,.....	584.24
Publications sold,.....	60.00
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	\$20,119.00
Paid for printing Proceedings,.....	218.78
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Balance April 1, 1887,.....	\$19,905.22

The Isaac Davis Book Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1886,.....	\$1,626.74
Income to April 1, 1887,.....	48.80
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	\$1,675.54
Paid for books,.....	143.21
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Balance April 1, 1887,.....	\$1,532.33

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1886,.....	\$2,898.54
Income to April 1, 1887,.....	71.96
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Balance April 1, 1887,.....	\$2,470.50

The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1886,.....	\$1,155.87
Income to April 1, 1887,.....	84.68
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	\$1,190.55
Paid for books,.....	50.78
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Balance April 1, 1887,.....	\$1,139.79

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1886,.....	\$4,968.90
Income to April 1, 1887,.....	145.92
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	\$5,009.82
Paid for repairs,.....	43.55
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Balance April 1, 1887,.....	\$4,966.27

The Alden Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1886,.....	\$1,055.79
Income to April 1, 1887,.....	31.67
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Balance April 1, 1887,.....	\$1,087.46

The Tenney Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1886,.....	\$5,000.00
Income to April 1, 1887,.....	150.00
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	\$5,150.00
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,.....	150.00
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Balance April 1, 1887,.....	\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1886,.....	\$1,152.55
Income to April 1, 1887,.....	34.58
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	\$1,187.13
Paid for books,.....	21.18
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Balance April 1, 1887,.....	\$1,165.95

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1886,.....	\$508.17
Income to April 1, 1887,.....	15.25
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	\$523.42
Paid for books,.....	9.00
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Balance April 1, 1887,.....	\$514.42
Total of the twelve funds,.....	\$102,175.55
Balance to the credit of Premium Account,.....	731.12
Balance to the credit of Income Account,	104.51
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April 1, 1887, total,.....	\$103,011.18

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Par Value.	Market Value.
6 Central National Bank, Worcester,.....	\$ 600.00	\$ 855.00	
22 City National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,200.00	2,926.00	
10 Citizens National Bank, Worcester,.....	1,000.00	1,340.00	
4 Boston National Bank,.....	400.00	500.00	
6 Fitchburg National Bank,.....	600.00	900.00	
2 Massachusetts National Bank, Boston,.....	500.00	506.25	
32 National Bank of Commerce, Boston,.....	3,200.00	4,016.00	
6 National Bank of North America, Boston,.....	600.00	636.00	
5 North National Bank, Boston,.....	500.00	675.00	
24 Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,400.00	2,760.00	
46 Shawmut National Bank, Boston,.....	4,600.00	5,750.00	
38 Webster National Bank, Boston,.....	3,300.00	3,432.00	
31 Worcester National Bank,.....	3,100.00	4,247.00	
Total of Bank Stock,.....	\$23,000.00	\$23,543.25	

30 Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.,.....	\$3,000.00	\$3,900.00
5 Worcester Gas Light Co.,.....	500.00	850.00
BONDS.		
Boston & Albany R. R. Bonds, 7s,.....	\$7,000.00	\$8,015.00
Central Pacific R. R. Bonds,.....	6,000.00	6,850.00
Eastern R. R. Bonds,.....	1,000.00	1,280.00
Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.,.....	4,300.00	5,052.00
Chicago, Santa Fe & California R. R.,.....	3,000.00	3,120.00
City of Chicago Bond,.....	1,000.00	1,040.00
Worcester & Nashua R. R.,.....	5,000.00	5,025.00
Notes secured by mortgage of real estate,.....	44,400.00	44,400.00
Note secured by R. R. Bond,.....	1,000.00	1,000.00
Deposited in Worcester savings banks,.....	3,329.85	3,329.85
Cash,	481.33	481.33
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	\$103,011.18	\$112,896.43

WORCESTER, Mass., April 15, 1887.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE,
Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to April 1, 1887, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

CHARLES A. CHASE.
WILLIAM A. SMITH.

WORCESTER, April 20, 1887.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

UNTIL the etymology of the word librarian is changed, you will naturally expect to find in a report from such an officer something relating to books. A review of the library work may be tedious, the statistics and acknowledgments dry and uninteresting; yet, placed between learned historical or archæological papers, such a report may, after all, have a very real mission which it should be allowed to fulfil. Your librarian is supposed to be personally interested not only in the interior and exterior of books, but also in trying to make the greatest possible number of people love and care for them. It is expected that he will use such time and such talents as he possesses in making useful to scholars, old and young, the treasures committed to his charge. Some of these students he will be able to carefully lead into new channels of thought and labor, while others whom he cannot closely follow in their special fields he may cheer on in their good work. Many of the children who visit Antiquarian Hall, either alone or accompanied by their teachers, find there many object lessons of value. They are interested not only in the mosaic head of Columbus, made by the Venetian artist, out of the many-colored bits of porcelain, but in the shells brought from near the port of Palos, whence the great navigator sailed on his wonderful voyage of discovery; the statues, portraits, busts, medallions and silhouettes of celebrities, the remains and photographs of the ruined cities of Yucatan, the photographic groups of the Washington Treaty Commissioners—those early friends of the cause of arbitration,—the Mather high chair of 1635, the Hancock clock, the Bay Psalm

Book, the Eliot and Cranmer Bibles and the black-letter volume of 1470; for all help to make the past a reality. It has been for some years the pleasant and profitable custom of the Principal of the Thomas-street Grammar school—situated on land given by our founder—after their annual lesson upon Isaiah Thomas's life and services, to bring the pupils of the two upper grades to the library for further light as to their benefactor and ours. It is a pleasure to certify to their intelligent interest as well as to their good behavior.

The treasurer's report again reminds us of the Tenney fund of five thousand dollars, which was bequeathed to the Society by a loving father solely on account of kindness shown his school-boy son at Antiquarian Hall. While we would not encourage the "Curiosity Shop" view of our Society's collections, we should always be glad in every possible way to aid even the youngest of students.

The advice of Louis and Alexander Agassiz to Natural History Societies, to carefully work their own fields, will apply with equal force to all learned societies. It seems clearly their first, though perhaps as clearly not their whole duty. The application of this principle to our Society would suggest as its special field, the new world; and the same may be said of the American Historical Association. The vigorous Archæological Institute of America has supplied valuable material from both sides of the Atlantic, and appears to have entered upon a career of great usefulness. Its official organ promises the results of researches, oriental, classical, early Christian, mediæval and American. In narrower fields, like some of the older States, both the Historical Societies and State Libraries have grown up alongside, each doing its own work the better on account of the existence of the other. Occasionally, however, the State Historical Society has been under the patronage of the State, being quartered in the State House and taking the place of the State Library, or it might almost be said

being that under another name. Some States have the State library but not the Historical Society, while a few are provided with neither. As a society having members in many of the States, and liable at no distant day to be represented in all of them, it seems our part and duty to use our influence for the establishment of one or both where the field is not already occupied. It is quite encouraging to note, in passing, the energy of the newer Western Societies, and to watch the signs of returning life in a few societies in the Southern States. Where private enterprise is not sufficient to establish or revive these educational helps, let the State be induced to act in the matter, supplying first a live librarian, then quarters, then money. State libraries have been visited in days gone by, from which the in-coming party had removed both the librarian and at the same time all probability of healthful library growth. It has been our great privilege to help various State libraries, but perhaps none so much as that of the State of Massachusetts from which we received our act of incorporation. From holding low rank it has, within a comparatively few years, taken a high position among the libraries of the land. The methods of its acting-librarian, Mr. C. B. Tillinghast, may safely be followed by any States, old or young. The opening paragraph of a circular issued "In the service of the Commonwealth," gives the key-note to his administration as follows: "It is desirable that the State library, as it is the property of the State and open free to all its citizens, should contain all publications illustrative in any way of the local, educational, social and industrial history of the towns and cities of the State, of all the institutions of its people, and the contributions of its citizens to social, political and religious history." His persistence in searching out the printed reports of every city and town in the State should be followed at once by every State library or State historical society, as such material is almost universally destroyed. The name of the Custodian of the State library has been

mentioned—though entirely without his knowledge—that he may be inspired by them writing further light in the direction of ways and means. One of its trustees¹ has been for thirty years a member of our Council.

That the national character of our Society is not yet sufficiently well-known even in New England is evident from the following appeal of an eminent scholar for our file of the *Vermont Gazette* from 1783 to 1796. He writes, "These papers, I am quite sure, cannot be very valuable to your collection—perhaps are not referred to for years—but in the town where they were published would be most highly prized and would be extremely useful for historical purposes."

In order that it may be seen at a glance how far we have "possessed the land," a table of members arranged by States, has been prepared and is herewith presented. Our By-Laws limit the number of members in the United States to one hundred and forty, and as there are but three vacancies the present membership numbers one hundred and thirty-seven. Following is the list: Maine 1, New Hampshire 3, Vermont 1, Massachusetts 72 (i. e. Boston 16, Cambridge 11, Worcester 27 and other towns 18), Rhode Island 4, Connecticut 9, New York 14, New Jersey 0, Pennsylvania 6, Delaware 0, Maryland 2, District of Columbia 5, Virginia 1, North Carolina 0, South Carolina 0, Georgia 2, Florida 0, Alabama 0, Mississippi 0, Louisiana 1, Texas 0, Arkansas 0, Missouri 1, Kentucky 0, Tennessee 0, Illinois 2, Indiana 0, Ohio 4, Michigan 1, Wisconsin 3, Minnesota 1, Nebraska 0, California 3, West Virginia 0, Oregon 0, Iowa 1, Kansas 0, Colorado 0, Nevada 0, Arizona Territory 0, Utah Territory 0, Wyoming Territory 0, Dakota Territory 0, Idaho Territory 0, New Mexico Territory 0, Montana Territory 0, Washington Territory 0, Alaska Territory 0. The foreign list numbers twenty-eight, as follows: Canada 2, Great Britain 4, South America 1, Argentine Republic

¹ Rev. Edward E. Hale, D.D.

1, German Empire 4, Greece 1, France 2, Spain 2, Mexico 10, Italy 1. While an active New England membership seems more important than ever, we cannot forget that their faithfulness should in no wise absolve the far-away members from responsibility in helping to sustain the good name of our Society. It was a favorite saying of Dr. Haven that faithful service in the Society conduced to long life, and that in his opinion its certificate of membership alone was of more value than a first-class life-insurance policy!

As usual not a little time has been required for the care and distribution of our duplicates. New fields have been opened to us which we have not hesitated to enter. Our United States Government exchange continues, and Mr. Ames says in a recent communication: "You take the lead in the number of volumes supplied." Large numbers of duplicate Massachusetts Railroad Commissioners' reports have been taken by their clerk for re-distribution, and returns have been made to other State departments in the same way for service rendered. Early and late reports of the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-Minded have been thankfully received by Superintendent Ashbury, and we have called home our own proceedings by sending back from our duplicate room some of those belonging to corresponding societies. We have helped Williamson's Bibliography of Maine by exchanging Maine duplicates with the Historical Society of that State. The Cincinnati Centennial Commissioners, in anticipation of the city's celebration in 1888, have drawn heavily upon our duplicate centennial reports, and another market for directories has been found among the Boards of Overseers of the Poor in New England. Our largest exchange of duplicate newspapers has been with the Kansas Historical Society which has furnished us with a set of Kansas State Documents. It is needless to say that much of the early printed history of Kansas can be found only in the Eastern press. Our collection of duplicate perfect and imperfect Mather tracts was consider-

ably increased by purchases at the last Brinley sale, and by putting the parts together—after carefully collecting our own set—some surprising results were obtained. About two hundred dollars have already been realized from their sale. It has been said that good books are among our best friends, but a glance at our shelves will show that they are not always as well dressed or at least in such desirable colors as we would be glad to see them. Our associate, the Harvard Class Poet of 1859, may from love of his alma mater put the first edition of his Church Idea into Magenta and the second into Crimson, but he will hardly recognize them in the college colors in the dingy white of to-day. It may seem a small matter, but it is firmly believed, at least by your librarian, that the influence of a learned body like our own, as well as of the library fraternity, may to a certain degree induce publishers to put fast colors as well as strong and tasteful bindings upon our dear friends, the books. And here let me record the death on the third day of November, 1886, of Mr. Joseph S. Wesby, for many years the Society's faithful binder. Less should not, and more need not be said of him and of his good service.

Among library internal improvements may be mentioned the transfer of the individual biographies from the upper half of the Alcove of Biography in the Annex to the same section of the northwest alcove in the main hall. The lower half of the latter alcove can receive the collected biography when it shall become necessary to place the rest of our United States documents below. The increase of this department is again due not so much to gifts or purchases, as to exchange, and includes English as well as American biography. This fact should remind members and friends that they need not withhold books and pamphlets because they think we already have them, but rather that duplicate material is always useful in the up-building of our library.

The great convenience of the tables originally attached

to the railings in the upper portion of some of the alcoves has induced the Library Committee to place them in the others at the charge of the Salisbury Building Fund. They do not appear to obstruct the light, have been made perfectly secure, and are in constant use.

The accessions for six months, to the 15th instant, have been as follows: By gift, nine hundred and fifty-one books, forty-six hundred and nine pamphlets, one hundred and eighteen volumes of newspapers, one hundred and thirteen maps, seven engravings, four photographs and four manuscripts. By exchange, three hundred and thirty-four books and three hundred and five pamphlets. Making a total of twelve hundred and eighty-five books, forty-eight hundred and fourteen pamphlets, one hundred and eighteen volumes of newspapers, one hundred and thirteen maps, seven engravings, four photographs and three charts. To these should be added various articles for the cabinet. The two hundred and twenty-five donors represent fifty-one members, eighty-nine persons not members and eighty-five societies and institutions. The full list of donors and donations will be found appended to this report, but a few special acknowledgments are here given. President Hoar has added to his usual gift of public documents selections of an historical character from his own library, manuscript material relating to the Fitz-John Porter case, and a list of his own publications to November, 1886. Vice-President Salisbury's contribution, which is large, includes a cabinet photograph of himself; and Hon. Edward L. Davis's the framed engraving of Senator Sumner—our Secretary for Foreign Correspondence from the year 1867 until his death in 1874—and his life-long friend the Poet Longfellow. Rev. Dr. William R. Huntington has presented another large instalment of the pamphlet literature of the Episcopal church. Hon. John D. Washburn, Hon. Henry S. Nourse and Mr. Reuben Colton have answered the request for members' photographs. We have received additional gene-

alogical material from Dr. George Chandler, whose Fund is, and whose "Chandler Family"—the remainder of the edition of which he presented to the Society—should be a constant source of revenue to us. J. Evarts Greene, Esq. has placed in our cabinet a complete reproduction in miniature of a Japanese General of the old régime, in costume and with his implements of warfare. Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis sends us, with other results of his literary labors, his "Canada and Louisiana," it being the first chapter of the fifth volume of the Narrative and Critical History of America, edited by Mr. Justin Winsor, and to which are appended Mr. Winsor's notes. While our membership contributes much to this great work it may be well to add that the Society's portfolios have furnished for reproduction portraits and plans not elsewhere preserved. Hon. Samuel A. Green contributes of his Groton Historical Series numbers sixteen to twenty inclusive, thus completing the first volume. Our record shows that beginning with an exchange—for certain of our founder's almanacs—with Dr. Green of Groton, in 1865, his gifts have been large and continuous. The witnesses to his efforts toward the preservation of the ephemeral literature of America may be found in the leading historical libraries of the country. General Francis A. Walker's History of the Second Army Corps in the Army of the Potomac suggests the special gratitude we always feel for an author's copy duly verified. The words of a recent writer in the American Bookseller that "Binding a book without a thorough index is like building a house and leaving the staircase out," also remind us that the General has not only furnished one but three indexes—or staircases—to his well-filled store-house. Mr. Francis J. Garrison, while sending other material, has not been unmindful of the small gaps in our file of the Liberator, and the Reverend John Gregson supplies us with a complete set of the Star and Crescent, formerly the official organ of the Alpha Delta Phi Society. Mrs. P. L. Canfield's gifts

to us are specially noteworthy. At this time she sends not only works in the departments of art and history, but a copy of "Travels Through North America, during the years 1825 and 1826," by his Highness Bernhard Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach. In the latter is the following reference to our Society of sixty years ago: "We arrived at Worcester about 7 o'clock, and alighted at an excellent tavern. * * * On the following morning the Governor (Levi Lincoln, Councillor of this Society from 1817 until his death in 1868) conducted us to a recently established museum which is designed chiefly for the collection of American antiquities. It is yet in its infancy and contains but few interesting specimens; the library also is of small extent; notwithstanding we must render full justice to the inhabitants for their laudable zeal in the cause of national science." The accumulated income of the Isaac Davis Book Fund was expended last December, at the sale of part second of the famous collection made by M. Eugéne Boban, which included many of the manuscripts and books formerly owned by M. Brasseur de Bourbourg. Of the forty-seven volumes thus secured many are of great rarity and value.

A brief reference at least should be made to the sale of the Fourth Part of the American Library of the late Mr. George Brinley. It occurred at New York, November 15-18, 1886, and was attended by your librarian, who expended of our balance of \$1,022.45 the sum of \$618.79, leaving to our credit for the final sale \$403.66. We received three hundred and fifty-three books and eight hundred and thirty-four pamphlets which may be classed as follows:—

Almanacs, dating from 1706.....	697 volumes.
Early New England imprints and therefore largely theological.....	158 volumes.
Early New England school books, many of them printed by our founder.....	123 volumes.
Mather tracts, containing not only works of seven different members of the family, but some of the rarest.....	45 volumes.

Chap books	48 volumes.
Dramatic	27 volumes.
Poetry.....	25 volumes.
Catechisms, Primers, Platforms and kindred works	23 volumes.
Psalmody	22 volumes.
Mormonism	12 volumes.
Biography	11 volumes.
Masonic	9 volumes.
Liturgics.....	5 volumes.
Slavery.....	3 volumes.

A list of the Mather tracts secured—which were not previously in the library—has been prepared and will be added to Mr. Paine's pamphlet list of Mather Publications. A few choice books—including the beautiful reprint of Caxton's “Game of Chesse,” first printed in 1475, and Keimer's rare folio edition of 1728 of Sewel's “History of the Christian People called Quakers”—were purchased at the Brinley sale for the Haven Alcove.

In your Librarian's report of April, 1884, he referred, by way of illustration, to the libraries of specialties which largely make up the great whole in the Cornell University library. He now wishes to place on record to the honor of our associate, Hon. Andrew D. White, a copy of the following associated press despatch: “The Board of Trustees of Cornell University has received a communication from Ex-President White announcing that he will give to the University his fine historical library. The collection includes thirty thousand volumes, ten thousand pamphlets and many manuscripts, and cost over one hundred thousand dollars. The trustees voted to reorganize the department of history and political economy and call it the President White school of history and political science, and make Ex-President White its dean and lecturer with two new professors. They will also put the new law school on an enlarged basis in view of Mr. White's gift.” It is said that the college authorities, in view of the precious gift, will erect a large fire-proof building for its accommodation. Its librarian, Mr. George Lincoln Burr, has already begun

an examination of our library in certain lines, and a special sale or exchange of our duplicates is likely to result from it. Our President's gift of manuscript material relating to the War of the Rebellion, leads me at the risk of being charged with duplication, to call attention to a resolution introduced by Rev. Dr. Hill, at the annual meeting of the Society twenty-one years ago, and seconded by Judge Barton. In their day and generation it did not answer its purpose, but it may speak in louder tones to-day. Following is the resolution : "Whereas a large amount of valuable material for history remains in the hands of families and friends of deceased and living soldiers, and is in danger of being irrevocably lost ; therefore, *Resolved*, That the Librarian be directed to solicit the presentation of the originals or copies of such letters, journals and other written documents, from the army engaged in the late Civil War, and from the hospitals, as friends may be willing to furnish ; and that application be made for these precious documents as early and as widely as possible." The Society's correspondence during this period, which I have lately examined, contains some interesting war letters, but the number is quite limited.

In accepting an invitation to meet the new Columbia College Library School, it seemed to me best to speak to them of our Society and its work. I have in a previous report called your attention to this novel school as originally proposed. It was opened January 4th, 1887, and has already proved that it has a *raison d'être*. The field to which its graduates will be welcomed is a broad and useful one. To them as to those who have been longer in the way, John Bright's words of encouragement, though they may be too highly colored, should act as a stimulant. He says : "Few trades or professions have made greater progress of late years than the librarian's. They only began to be conscious that they were a distinct craft until the other day, and their conference is yet but a few years old. Yet they have done more for the advancement of their art

in their short organized existence than many older bodies have accomplished in a generation. * * * To facilitate the studies of others is the librarian's business; and so far have many of them now carried their art that a brief chat with the officer in charge will teach the casual reader what he used to learn less perfectly by the tedious study of ponderous and perplexing catalogues."

In completing twenty-one years of service for this Society, I am forcibly reminded of the great changes which have occurred since the month of April, 1866, when I first became associated with our late lamented Librarian, Dr. Haven. Of the seventeen Councillors then living but four remain, viz.: Messrs. Hale, Sargent, Deane and Paine, while Messrs. Salisbury, Jenks, Lincoln, Davis, Shurtleff, Folsom, Barton, Merrick, Bigelow, Haven, Washburn, Thomas and Hill have died. It may be said in brief that during this period your library and your working funds have doubled, the library building has been enlarged, the hours during which the public are served therein have been extended, the Card Catalogue has been well forwarded, and the library correspondence has of course largely increased. By the introduction of steam heat the old-time winter temperature of eighty degrees in the office, forty in the upper and twenty in the lower hall has given place to an even and safe temperature of seventy degrees throughout the building.

In entering upon another year's labors I entertain the hope that our valuable library will be more and more used by both members and the public, and thereby become more and more useful. We have thus far made good progress, but with an increase of your present generous interest and support we may reasonably expect that still greater good will be accomplished.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,
Librarian.

Donors and Donations.

FROM MEMBERS.

- ANDERSON, JOSEPH, S.T.D.**, Waterbury, Conn.—His History of the Soldiers' Monument in Waterbury, Connecticut.
- BARTON, Mr. EDMUND M.**, Worcester.—Five pamphlets; and "St. John's Echo," in continuation.
- BARTON, WILLIAM S., Esq.**, Worcester.—One book; and five pamphlets.
- BRINTON, DANIEL G., M.D.**, Philadelphia, Pa.—Four of his archæological publications.
- BROCK Mr. ROBERT A.**, Richmond, Va.—Waddell's Annals of Augusta County, Virginia; and newspapers containing historical articles by Mr. Brock.
- CAMPBELL, Hon. JAMES V.**, Detroit, Mich.—The Semi-Centennial of Michigan, containing Judge Campbell's Judicial History of the State; and the Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vols. VIII. and IX., in continuation.
- CHANDLER GEORGE, M.D.**, Worcester—Fifty-five pamphlets.
- CLARKE, Mr. ROBERT**, Cincinnati, O.—Hoadley's "Acquisition of Louisiana"; and the Seventeenth Reunion of the Army of the Cumberland.
- COLTON, Mr. REUBEN**, Worcester.—Seventy-four numbers of magazines; and a cabinet photograph of himself.
- DAVIS, Mr. ANDREW MCF.**, Cambridge.—His "Few additional notes concerning Indian Games"; his "Canada and Louisiana"; and a manuscript volume of sermons of Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D.D.
- DAVIS, Hon. EDWARD L.**, Worcester.—A framed engraving of Charles Sumner and Henry W. Longfellow.
- DAVIS, Hon. HORACE**, San Francisco, Cal.—Seven California pamphlets.
- DEANE, CHARLES, LL.D.**, Cambridge.—His "Connection of Massachusetts with Slavery and the Slave-Trade."
- DEXTER, Prof. FRANKLIN B.**, New Haven, Conn.—The Connecticut Almanac, 1887, containing his "Town Names in Connecticut."
- DRAPER, LYMAN C., LL.D.**, Madison, Wis.—An account of his life and labors.
- EDES, Mr. HENRY H.**, Charlestown.—Twenty-three books; fifty-one pamphlets; two charts; and two files of newspapers, in continuation.
- GAGE, THOMAS H., M.D.**, Worcester.—Eleven volumes of Worcester Directories; and thirteen pamphlets.
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D.**, Baltimore, Md.—His eleventh Annual Report as President of Johns Hopkins University.

- GREEN, Mr. SAMUEL S., Worcester.—His report as Librarian of the Free Public Library, Worcester, 1886.
- GREENE, J. EVARTS, Esq., Worcester.—Twenty-seven books; seventy-three pamphlets; and a Japanese general of the old regime in costume.
- GREEN, Hon. SAMUEL A., Boston.—His Groton Historical Series, XVI.-XX.; eight books; one hundred and thirty-two pamphlets; one chart; one map; and the Journal of Numismatics, as issued.
- GUILD, REUBEN A., LL.D., Providence, R. I.—Seven Brown University pamphlets.
- HALL, Rev. EDWARD H., Cambridge.—Services at the Celebration of the 250th Anniversary of the First Church in Cambridge, containing an address by Mr. Hall.
- HARDEN, WILLIAM, Esq., Savannah, Ga.—Report of Savannah Public Schools, 1885 and 1887.
- HITCHCOOK, Prof. EDWARD, Amherst.—Twenty-three Amherst College pamphlets.
- HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F., Worcester.—One hundred and ninety-four books; eight hundred and eighty-eight pamphlets; two engravings; one map; manuscript material relating to the Fitz-John Porter case; and a manuscript list of his own publications.
- HOYT, Mr. ALBERT H., Boston.—Three pamphlets relating to New Hampshire.
- HUNTINGTON, Rev. WILLIAM R., D.D., New York.—Four hundred and eighty-four pamphlets; and ninety numbers of magazines.
- JONES, Hon. CHARLES C., Augusta, Ga.—His “Life and Services of Major-General Samuel Elbert of Georgia.”
- JONES, Hon. HORATIO GATES, Philadelphia, Pa.—Minutes of the Philadelphia Baptist Association, 1886.
- JONES, JOSEPH, M.D., New Orleans, La.—His “Medical and Surgical Memoirs: containing investigations of various diseases,” volume two.
- MERRIMAN, Rev. DANIEL, D.D., Worcester.—One book; and thirty-one pamphlets.
- NOURSE, Hon. HENRY S., Lancaster.—A cabinet photograph of himself.
- PAIN, Rev. GEORGE S., Worcester.—Fifty-eight pamphlets; and various broadsides.
- PAIN, NATHANIEL, Esq., Worcester.—Twenty-two books; one hundred and seventy-one pamphlets; six wall maps; one file of newspapers; a photograph of the interior of Salisbury Annex; one copper plate; and miscellaneous newspapers.
- PIET, Rev. STEPHEN D., Clinton, Wis.—His American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.
- PERRY, Right Rev. WM. STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Iowa.—His Sermon on the Centenary of the Consecration of Bishop White; and the Iowa Churchman, as issued.
- POOLE, WILLIAM F., LL.D., Chicago, Ill.—“The Dial,” in continuation, containing articles by Dr. Poole.
- POORE, Major BENJAMIN PERLEY, Newbury.—His “Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the National Metropolis,” vol. I.; eleven bound volumes and fifty-one numbers of the Knickerbocker Magazine; and ten pamphlets.

- PUTNAM**, Prof. **FREDERICK W.**, Cambridge.—Nuttall's "Preliminary Notes of an Analysis of the Mexican Codices and Graven Inscriptions"; and the Report of the Fish and Game Commissioners of Massachusetts for 1886.
- SALISBURY**, **STEPHEN**, Worcester.—Thirteen books; one hundred and five pamphlets; seven files of newspapers; a collection of playbills; and a cabinet photograph of himself.
- SMITH**, Mr. **CHARLES C.**, Boston.—His Memoir of John J. Babson; and his report as Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1887.
- SMUCKER**, Hon. **ISSAC**, Newark, O.—One pamphlet.
- SMYTH**, Rev. **EBBERT C.**, D.D., Andover.—The Andover Heresy, Prof. Smyth's argument; and Dr. Dwight's Argument for Prof. Smyth.
- TAFT**, **HENRY W.**, Esq., Pittsfield.—One book; and twenty-eight pamphlets.
- WALKER**, Gen. **FRANCIS A.**, Boston.—His "History of the Second Army Corps in the Army of the Potomac."
- WASHBURN**, Hon. **JOHN D.**, Worcester.—A cabinet photograph of himself.
- WEEDEN**, Mr. **WILLIAM B.**, Providence, R. I.—His "Arbitration and its Relation to Strikes."
- WILLIAMS**, Mr. **J. FLETCHER**, St. Paul, Minn.—His Reminiscences of Thirty Years' Active Membership in St. Paul Lodge, No. 2, I. O. O. F.
- WINSOR**, Mr. **JUSTIN**, Cambridge.—His "Note on the Spurious Letters of Montcalm," 1759; and Harvard University Bulletin, as issued.
- WINTHROP**, Hon. **ROBERT C.**, Boston.—Proceedings of the Peabody Education Fund Trustees at their Twenty-fifth Meeting.

FROM THOSE NOT MEMBERS.

- BAILEY**, Mr. **ISAAC H.**, New York.—The Shoe and Leather Reporter, as issued; and the Shoe and Leather Annual, 1887.
- BALDWIN**, Messrs. **JOHN D.**, AND **COMPANY**, Worcester.—Their Daily and Weekly Spy, as issued.
- BALL**, Hon. **PHINEHAS**, Worcester.—His report on Sewerage for the City of Brockton.
- BAKER**, Messrs. **WALTER AND COMPANY**, Boston.—A short history of the Production and Use of Coca and Chocolate.
- BATCHELDER**, Mr. **FRANK R.**, Worcester.—"The Academe," as issued.
- BLANCHARD**, Messrs. **FRANK S.**, AND **COMPANY**, Worcester.—Their "Yankee Almanac and Worcester County Hand-book," 1887.
- BOARDMAN**, Mr. **SAMUEL L.**, Augusta, Me.—The "Home Farm," as issued.
- BOOTH**, E. C., M.D., *Director*, Morristown, N. J.—Report of the State Asylum for the Insane at Morristown, 1886.
- BRADFORD**, EDWARD H., M.D., Boston.—The Eighteenth annual Report of the Children's Hospital.
- BRINLEY**, GEORGE, FAMILY OF THE LATE.—Three hundred and fifty-three books; and eight hundred and thirty-four pamphlets.
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- CALDWELL, Rev. AUGUSTINE, Coventryville, N. Y.—One pamphlet.
- CANFIELD, Mrs. PENELOPE S., Worcester.—Three books; nine pamphlets; and two manuscripts.
- CHALMERS, Mr. PATRICK, Wimbledon, G. B.—The "Submission of the Sir Rowland Hill Committee."
- COLE, Mr. GEORGE W., Brooklyn, N. Y.—His Classified Catalogue of the Public Library of Fitchburg, Mass.
- CONANT, EDWIN, Esq., Worcester.—Exercises at the Dedication of the Elizabeth Anne Conant Building at Sterling, Mass.
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- DANIELS, Mr. GEORGE F., Oxford.—Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1884, two volumes.
- DODGE, Mr. BENJAMIN J., Worcester.—Constitution of the Natives of Maine of Worcester County, Mass., with List of Members.
- DOE, Messrs. CHARLES H., AND COMPANY, Worcester.—Their Daily and Weekly Gazette, as issued.
- DREW, ALLIS AND COMPANY, Messrs., Worcester.—Map of Worcester, 1874, one hundred and four copies; and a map of Manitoba.
- DUREN, Mr. ELNATHAN F., *Secretary*, Bangor, Me.—General Conference of Maine, with History and Index for the last Decade.
- EARLE, PLINY, M.D., Northampton.—Eleven pamphlets; eight numbers of magazines; and files of the Journal of Mental Science; and of the Alienist and Neurologist, in continuation.
- EMMONS, Mr. THEODORE H., Boston.—The Charter and By-Laws of St. Paul's Royal Arch Chapter, Boston.
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- FOOTE AND HORTON, Messrs., Salem.—Their Gazette, as issued.
- FOSDICK, Hon. FREDERICK, *Mayor*, Fitchburg.—Fitchburg City Document, 1886.
- FOSTER, Mrs. LEROY, Worcester.—Birds-eye view of the battle of Gettysburg.
- FUNK AND WAGNALLS, Messrs., New York.—"The Voice," as issued.
- GALE, Lieut. GEORGE H. G., U. S. A.—"Reminiscences of West Point in the Olden Time"; and Report of the United States Military Academy, 1886.
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- GRAHAM, Capt. A. A., Columbus, O.—His "Glance at Ohio's First Century."
- GREGSON, Rev. JOHN, Wilkinsonville.—"The Star and Crescent," published by the Alpha Delta Phi Society, five volumes.

- HACKETT, Mr. FRANK W., *Editor*, Washington, D. C.—His “Transcript of the first thirty-five pages of the earliest Town Book of Portsmouth, N. H.”
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- MARBLE, ALBERT P., Ph.D., Worcester.—His “Presumption of Brains.”
- MASSACHUSETTS GRAND LODGE OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONs.—Their Proceedings, Aug. 26—Oct. 13, 1886.
- MAYBERRY, Mr. S. P., Cape Elizabeth, Me.—One newspaper.
- MCKENZIE, Rev. ALEXANDER, D.D., Cambridge.—Two of his historical sermons.
- MERRILL, CHESTER W., Esq., Cincinnati, O.—His report as Librarian and Treasurer of the Cincinnati Public Library, 1885-96.
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- PARK, JOHN G., M.D., *Superintendent*, Worcester.—Report of the Trustees of the Worcester Lunatic Hospital, 1886.
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- SMITH, Mr. HENRY M., Worcester.—His Worcester Home Journal, as issued; and "The Old Guard."
- STAPLES, Mr. SAMUEL E., Worcester.—File of the "Dedham Standard," 1886.
- STEINER, Hon. LEWIS H., *Librarian*, Baltimore, Md.—"Letters and Documents relating to the Foundation of the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore City;" and his annual Report, 1887.
- STILLÉ, CHARLES J., LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His Beaumarchais and "the lost million," a chapter in the secret history of the American Revolution.
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- THAYER, Hon. ELI, Worcester.—His "New England Emigrant Aid Company."
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- TUCKER, Mr. GEORGE P., *Editor*, Worcester.—"The W T I," as issued.
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- VOSE, Prof. GEORGE L., Brookline.—His "Sketch of the Life and Works of George W. Whistler, Civil Engineer."
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- WASHBURN, Rev. PHILIP M., Worcester.—"All Saints Parish," as issued.
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- WINSLOW, Hon. JOHN, Brooklyn, N. Y.—His "Trial of the Rhode Island Judges, an Episode touching Currency and Constitutional Law"; and Proceedings of the New England Society in Brooklyn, 1887.
- WINSLOW, Hon. SAMUEL, *Mayor*, Worcester.—His Second Inaugural Address.

FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

- ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—Their Proceedings, as issued.
- ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OF ST. LOUIS.—Their publications, as issued.

- AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—Their Magazine, as issued.
- AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.—Their Proceedings, as issued.
- AMERICAN SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY.—Their Sailor's Magazine, as issued.
- BOSTON, CITY OF.—The City Documents for 1886, three volumes; the Reports of the Record Commissioners, as issued; and the Monthly Statistics of Mortality.
- BOSTONIAN SOCIETY.—“The Old Town House of Boston”; and one pamphlet.
- BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Annual Report, 1887; and the Bulletin, as issued.
- BOWDOIN COLLEGE.—The Inauguration Address of 1886; and the Annual Catalogue, 1886-87.
- BUFFALO LIBRARY.—Finding List of Books and Pamphlets, Part 2.
- CAMBRIDGE (Eng.) ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—Their Reports and Communications, as issued.
- CANADIAN INSTITUTE.—Their Proceedings, as issued.
- CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Constitution, By-Laws and List of Members, 1885-86.
- CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Bulletin of Books added in 1886.
- CONNECTICUT ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Their Transactions, as issued.
- DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY.—An Historical Summary with the Annual Reports of the Library Commission.
- DEWEY, Mr. MELVIL, *Chief Librarian*, New York.—His second and third reports as Chief Librarian of Columbia College.
- ESSEX INSTITUTE.—Their Collections and Bulletins, as issued.
- FLETCHER FREE LIBRARY, Burlington, Vt.—The Thirteenth Annual Report.
- GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—“Life and Services of Maj.-Gen. Samuel Elbert of Georgia.”
- GOOD HEALTH PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Their Magazine, as issued.
- HARLEIAN SOCIETY.—Their Rules, Reports and List of Members, 1887.
- HARVARD UNIVERSITY.—The annual Reports of the President and Treasurer, 1886-86.
- HAVERFORD COLLEGE.—Two of the College Catalogues.
- HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO.—Their Catalogue of the Torrence Papers.
- HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Their Magazine of History and Biography, as issued.
- HOPEDALE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The First Annual Report.
- HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF AMERICA.—Their Collections, volume one.
- INSTITUT CANADIEN.—Eight Canadian publications.
- IOWA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Historical Record, as issued.
- JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.—Their Publications, as issued.
- LEICESTER TOWN LIBRARY.—Report of 1886.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Collections, volume IX.

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- WORCESTER FREE INSTITUTE.—Twenty of the Institute Reports.
- WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Forty books; three hundred and forty-two pamphlets; and seventy files of newspapers, in continuation.
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are the Boston Latin School and Harvard College. It was founded in 1645, only fifteen years after the settlement at Boston and thirteen years after the establishment of the church in Roxbury. I have examined the leather-covered parchment book in which the original agreement, by which it was founded, was written and subscribed by fifty-two "Inhabitantes of Roxburie," and in which the scanty records of the school from its origin until 1787 were kept. It is folded across the middle as a pamphlet is sometimes folded for mailing and tied together with a leathern thong. Among the signatures to the earliest agreement are those of Dudley, Gookins, Eliot, Weld, Gore and many others familiar to the student of Massachusetts history.

But this school, besides taking the third rank in age among the existing schools of this country, is still more remarkable in another respect, namely, that it is, I believe, the only school which, having never received from the State or town any endowment, grant or subsidy, or anything from the proceeds of taxation, except a small annual payment for a few years from the town in consideration of an enlargement of its course of study, is yet and has been, almost from its origin, as free to all the inhabitants of the town or in later days of the territory within the original town limits, as the public town or city schools. There may be other schools of comparatively recent foundation of which the same is true, but I do not know of any.

About two hundred and fifty-two years ago (the exact date cannot now be ascertained, but probably in the year 1645 and certainly before April 6th in that year), "the first inhabitants of Roxbury to the number of more than sixty families, well nigh the whole town in those days, agreed together to lay the foundation of a Grammar School, for the glory of God, the future good and service of the country and of the church of Christ, and for the particular good education of the youth of our church and town," as John Eliot says in a petition to the General

Court some years later. For this purpose they entered into an agreement and recorded it in a book, subscribing it with their names. The original agreement was lost in the burning of John Johnson's house, which, as Governor Winthrop says, happened on the 6th of April. Mr. Johnson was the surveyor-general of the ammunition, and in his house at the time were "seventeen barrels of the country's powder and many arms." The agreement contained in "the second book," as it is termed in papers relating to the school, which is still preserved, is dated "the last day of August 1645" and is doubtless as nearly as possible an exact copy of the first. It reads as follows :

"Whereas the Inhabitantes of Roxburie, out of their relligeous care of posteritie, have taken into consideration how necessarie the education of their children in literature will be to fitt them for publick service both in Churche and Commonwealthe, in succeeding ages. They therefore unanimously have consented and agreed to erect a free schoole in the said towne of Roxburie, and to allow twenty pounds per annum to the Schoolemster to bee raised out of the messuages and part of the lands of the several donors, (Inhabitantes of the said Towne) in several proportions as hereafter followeth expressed under their hands. And for the well ordering thereof they have chosen and elected seven Feoffees, who shall have power to putt in or remove the Schoolemster, to see to the well ordering of the schoole and scholars, to receive & pay the said twenty pounds pr annum to the Schoolemster, & to dispose of any other gift or gifte which hereafter may or shalbe given for the advancement of learning & education of children. And if it happen that any one or more of the said feoffees to dye or by removal out of the Towne or excommunication to be displaced, the Said donors hereafter expressed doe hereby covenant for themselves & for their heirs within the space of one month after such death

or removall of any one or more¹ * * * feoffees to elect & choose others in their room¹ * * * the number may be compleate. And if the said donors or the greater part of them doe neglect to make election within the time pre-limited, then shall the surviving feoffees or the greater part of them elect new feoffees in the roome or roomes of such as are dead or removed (as before) to fulfill the number of seven, and this their election shalbe of equal validity and power as if it had been made by all or the greater number of the said donors. In consideration of the premises & that due provision may not be wanting for the maintenance of the schoolemaster forever, the donors hereafter expressed for the severall proportions or annuities by them voluntariely undertaken & underwritten have given & granted and by these presentes doe for themselves, their heires and assigns respectively hereby give & grant unto the present feoffees viz, Joseph Weld, John Johnson, John Roberts, Joshua Hewes, Isaac Morrell, Thomas Lambe, & theire successors chosen as aforesaid the severall rents or Summes hereafter expressed under theire hands, issueinge & goinge forthe of theire severall * * * lands & tenements in Roxburie hereafter expressed. To Have & to houlde perceive & enioy the said Annual rents or Summes to the onely use of the said ffree schoole in Roxbury, yearly payable at or uppon the last of the first month & the last of September by even portions; the first payment to begin the last of September in this present yeare. And the said donors for themselves theire heires & Assigneis doe covenant to & with the feoffees & theire successors that if the said annuall rent or any part thereof be arriere & unpayed the space of twenty dayes next after the dayes appointed for payment, that then & from thence forth it shalbe lawfull for and to the said feoffees & theire successors into the said messuages Lands & premisses of the partie or parties makeing default to enter & distreine &

¹The book has been gnawed by mice and a word or more is missing here.

the said distresses then and there found to leade, drive & carry away & the same to prize and sell for the payments of the said rents, returning the overplus unto the Owners or proprietors of the said houses & Lands. And further the said donors doe for themselves, their heires & assignes covenant & grant to & with the feoffees aforesaid that if no sufficient distresse or distresses can be had or taken in * * * the premisses according to the true intent & meaninge of this present deed, or if it shall happen any rescous or pound breach to be made or replevie or replivines to be sued or obtained of or for or by reason of any distresse or distresses to be taken by virtue of these presents as is aforesaid that then and from thence forth it shall be & may be lawfull for the said feoffees & their successors into the said messuages lands & premisses to enter & the same & every part thereof to have use & enjoy to the use of the schoole & the rents issues & profitts thereof to receive & take & the same to detaine & keepe to the use & behoofe of the schoole as is aforesaid without any account making thereof unto the said donors, their heires or assignes & to use & occupie the said houses lands & premisses to the use aforesaid untill such time as the said annuall rents or summes & every part or parcell thereof, with all arrierages & damages for non payment be fully satisfiyed & payd unto the said feoffees their successors or assignes by the said donors their heires or assignes or any of them. Of which said rents or summes the said donors every and singular of them have putt the said feoffees in full possession and seisin at the delivery hereof. And for the further satisfaction hereof the said donors become suitors to the Honored Generall Court for the establishment hereof by their Authority and power. Always provided that none of the Inhabitants of the said Towne of Roxbury that shall not joyne by subscribing their names and Somes in this act with the rest of the donors shall have any further benefitt thereby than other strangers shall have who are no inhab-

itants. And lastly it is granted by the said donors that the feoffees & theire successors shall from time to time be accountable unto the court of Assistants and the donors for the trust committed to them when at any time they shalbe thereunto called and required. In witness whereof the donors aforesaid have hereunto subscribed their names and somes given yearly the last day of August in the yeare of our Lord 1645."

It should be said here, however, that the idea of a free school in Roxbury to be supported by rents granted out of the lands of the inhabitants did not originate with Thomas Dudley, Captain Gookins, Thomas Weld, John Eliot and others whose names are signed to the agreement above mentioned, but, so far as now appears, to Samuel Hugburne, of whom I know only what Mr. Dillaway says in his history, that his will dated 1642, three years before the date of the agreement and the founding of the school, contains this provision :

"When Roxbury shall set up a free schoole in the towne, then shall ten shilling per annum, out of the house and house lot, be paid unto it forever."

It is not known, however, that the school received anything under this will.

By the burning of the first book the evidence of title to the rents granted out of the lands of some of the original donors was lost, and though most of them personally subscribed to the agreement in the second book, the signatures of others were only copies and to them were added the names of witnesses who could attest the fact of their having signed the first agreement.

None of the records remaining show when the school was first opened. The first schoolmaster whose name is preserved was Joseph Hanford or Hansford, who was engaged in 1649 to teach the school the next year with a salary of twenty-two pounds, but an earlier record of the date of 1648 seems to me to indicate that "Bro Bridges"

was the teacher in that year. Perhaps he was the Edward Bridges who signed the agreement granting a rent of two shillings out of his lands. The record of 1648, a short entry, refers to the rent of a house "made the school of Bro. Bridges."

The school at any rate was "set up" immediately and has been maintained without interruption ever since. It was not at the first free to all the inhabitants of the town as appears by the proviso in the agreement, restricting its benefits to those of the inhabitants who "shall joyne in this act."

For many years this was the only school kept in Roxbury, the town itself not supporting any, though required by law since 1647 to provide a schoolmaster to teach reading and writing, and when the town should have one hundred families or householders to set up a grammar school. In 1668, when John Prudden was engaged as the schoolmaster for the year ensuing, the salary had been increased to twenty-five pounds, "ye one halfe to be payed on ye 29 of September next ensuing the date hereof, and the other halfe on the 25 of March next ensuing, i. e. in ye year (70) ye said £25 to be payed by William Park and Robert Williams, their heirs and administrators at ye upper-mills in Roxbury, three quarters in Indian Corne or Peas and ye other fourth-part in Barley, all good and merchantable, at price current in ye countrey rate, at ye dayes of payment."

About this time, owing to disputes in the town concerning the management of the school and some uncertainty of title to the annual rents granted for its maintenance and to certain lands which had come into occupation of the feoffees, it was thought best to petition the General Court for relief in these respects, and accordingly the feoffees by John Eliot and Thomas Weld presented their petition in 1669 to "certaine countrey and seafarre the said School and the rents due there unto by voluntary donations," to empower the Feoffees to receive and gather the rents, and to con-

firm the school's title to its lands. This petition was referred by the General Court to Major-General Leverett, Edward Tyng, William Stoughton and Thomas Shepard, as a committee to examine into the facts and report what should be done.

The next year this committee reported that the petitioners' desires should be granted, the school at Roxbury should be confirmed "to be a free school for all in that town," and that the titles should be settled as desired. The General Court in that year (1670) passed an act in conformity with the report, ratifying and establishing the agreement of 1645, authorizing the trustees to make distress upon the respective estates of the donors for any sums of money unpaid of the annual rents, confirming the title of the feoffees to the lands of Laurent Whittemore, about fourteen acres, and to twenty acres of arable land in the great lots, "which hath been in occupation of the school about twenty years," and also providing that if there should be need of the future levying of any further sums of money, for maintaining a schoolmaster, the donors to this school should be wholly free from any such levy or imposition. By this act the Feoffees of the school became a corporation with rights and powers and liabilities defined by law.

The next event of special interest in the history of the school was the devise by Thomas Bell of all his lands in Roxbury to "the minister and other two such head officers of the church in Roxbury as the whole church there shall from time to time best approve of, successively from time to time forever," in trust "for the maintenance of a schoolmaster and free schoole for the teaching and instructing of poore mens children at Roxbury aforesaid forever." Mr. Bell was a London merchant and a man of substance. He came to Massachusetts in 1635, and was one of the early settlers in Roxbury, where he had a homestead near where the corner of Boylston and School streets now is, and lands

He had a son and heir, Henry, aged twenty years or more. He was sent to the University of Cambridge, having charged his father with the sum of twenty shillings. After his return from Cambridge he became a churchman and lived there for some time, dying at last in 1717. He left his son a portion before him, among the first bequests being a sum of money given to the foundation by Mr. Thomas Bell, now to be seen in Mr. Bell's library, more particularly described as being the founder of the school.

The trustees object to the same bequest of his intention to found a free school in the town which then existed in Lancaster, as follows. But there is no record in the town records of any such school ever existing. This objection was referred to the General Court, which in 1736 directed that the same should be set aside. Mr. Thomas Bell, however, in his will, was the author of a clause in his will, that free school should be founded in the town.

On the 2nd of April, 1686, it is recorded that a military company of foot, consisting of 100 men, and two officers, were admitted into the service of the forces of the Commonwealth. They were to hold their property, and to receive their pay, according to the affairs of the country. But the yearly rent of the lands of the feoffees is now £100. "The said lands to be and may be let and sold by the lessees of Mr. Thomas Bell, belonging to the free school, for the space of three and twenty years." Leases were made in consequence of which the above lease in which the two feoffees held directly the property in leasing those lands for the term aforesaid, remained. These leases made in 1686 and 1687 continued in force until 1717. For some years before that time much discontent had been expressed by the people of the town with this disposition of the lands,

and in that year the trustees under Mr. Bell's will petitioned the General Court for relief, representing that the long lease was made in prejudice of the school and "against the will and mind of the donors of that laudable charity." The council was willing to give the relief desired, but the representatives would not concur. Relief was then sought by suits at law, and the matter was finally compromised by the surrender of the long leases and the execution of others for shorter terms.

In 1731 the income of the school appears from an account on file to have been from Mr. Bell's farm £45, from other land £16, income from Governor Dudley's donation £3. From subscriptions £8, 1s., 11d.; in all £72, 10s., 11d.

In the mean time other small parcels of land had come into the possession of the feoffees by devise or by grant, the consideration for some of the grants being the release of the annual rent charge upon other portions of the grantors' lands. A grant by the General Court of five hundred acres in Oxford to the town of Roxbury "for the maintenance of a free school" was claimed by the feoffees, but the town and not the school obtained it, sold it in 1770 and '74 for £233-10 and preserved the proceeds as a distinct fund for school purposes until 1790, when they were paid into the town treasury and appropriated to the ordinary expenses of the town.

Nothing further in the history of the school need be noted here until the act of the General Court in 1789 incorporating the Trustees of the Grammar School in the easterly part of the town of Roxbury, abolishing the two boards, of Feoffees and trustees of Mr. Bell's lands, and giving the control of the property and the school to a single board, of not more than thirteen nor less than nine members, of which the act provides that the minister and the two oldest deacons of the First Church of Christ in the said town of Roxbury shall always, by virtue of their

offices, be members. The trustees are made "the true and sole Visitors, Trustees and Governors of the said school in perpetual succession forever." It is provided further that "as often as one or more of the trustees shall die, resign, remove, or in the judgment of the major part of the said Trustees for the time being, be rendered by age, infirmity or otherwise, incapable of discharging the duties of his office, then and so often the remaining part of the Trustees then surviving or the major part of them, at some stated meetings, shall elect by ballot one or more persons, being reputable freeholders in the town of Roxbury aforesaid to fill such vacancy or vacancies." The trustees are required to hold annual and quarterly meetings. The trustees named in the act as the original members of the corporation were : the Honorable John Lowell, Esquire, Nehemiah Munroe, James Mears, Reverend Eliphalet Porter, Clerk, Honorable Increase Sumner, Esquire, Samuel Sumner, Joseph Ruggles, Esquire, Thomas Williams, Physician and Joseph Williams, Gentleman.

The first important action of the new trustees which it is necessary to note here, was the leasing of the greater part of the school lands for one hundred and twenty years. This policy seems to have originated with Judge Lowell to whom, says Mr. Dillaway, "the present financial prosperity of the school is in a great degree to be attributed." In December, 1793, the trustees voted to lease a part of the lands for the term above mentioned, and leases were executed accordingly, reserving an annual rent of ten cents if demanded, and with covenants securing to the school such buildings and improvements as might be on the lands at the end of one hundred years or at any time thereafter, to be preserved in good order until the end of the term. Other leases with like considerations were executed in the next year, and in 1796 the greater part of the remaining lands were leased on the same terms. Most of these lands are so situated as to be now highly valuable and on them are

buildings erected by the lessees which will add to their value when they revert to the school at the expiration of the leases. The leases were sold at auction and the sums received for them were not much if any less than could have been obtained by the sale of the fee of the lands. The price received for the sale of all these leases in 1794-5-6 was about eleven thousand five hundred dollars.

The wisdom of these acts of the trustees appears to have been seriously questioned in later years, but was elaborately justified in a report presented to the board in 1834 by a committee of which John Lowell, son of the judge of the same name, the originator of the policy of long leases, was chairman. The report defends that policy on the ground that the trustees needed a capital more productive than the lands had been, yet thought it would not comport with the views of the original donors to relinquish altogether their title to the lands; that their value, which in little more than a century had risen from the price of a few blankets to the considerable sums for which they were then sold, would doubtless go on to increase in the same ratio or perhaps a higher one, and that it would be improvident in any generation to grant away from posterity property designed for that posterity. Their action possibly needed a defence then, it certainly needs none now.

The successors of Mr. Lowell and his colleagues have not for the last fifty years rigidly adhered to the policy he set forth in that report, but have sold the reversion in a large part of the lands held by the trustees in his time. Then the lands of the school subject to long leases considerably exceeded one hundred acres in total area, now they are much less than half that. With the growth of the city, the increasing number of scholars applying for admission, and the higher standards and broader scope of educational requirements, the need of a larger working capital for the adequate equipment of the school became imperative and could only be supplied by the sale of its

reversionary title to a portion of its lands. The school, however, still owns the reversion of numerous tracts of land in various parts of Roxbury, some of them having small present or prospective value, while others would bring a high price now, and will, it may be presumed, be worth much more twenty-eight or thirty years hence. Besides these leased lands, which yield no income, the school has a few tracts which are in its present occupancy, and invested funds yielding an income sufficient to employ a principal and six assistant teachers of such quality that the school maintains a rank equal to the highest among the great schools of the country for the scholarship and general performance of its pupils. Of its standard of scholarship in the early days it is perhaps as well not to inquire too closely. Cotton Mather does indeed say in his life of John Eliot :

“God so blessed his endeavors, that Roxbury could not live quietly without a free school in the town; and the issue of it has been one thing which has almost made me put the title of Schola illustris upon that little nursery; that is, that Roxbury has afforded more scholars, first for the college and then for the public, than any town of its bigness, or, if I mistake not, of twice its bigness in all New England. From the spring of the school at Roxbury there has been a large number of the streams which have made glad this whole city of God.”

Yet only a little earlier, namely in 1681, Thomas Bernard, schoolmaster, writes to the feoffees as follows:

“Of inconveniences I shall instance in no other than that of the school house, the confused and shattered and nastie posture that it is in, not fitting to reside in; the glass broken and thereupon very raw and cold, the floor very much broken and torn up to kindle fires, the hearth spoiled, the seats, some burnt and others out of kilter, so that one had as well nigh as goods keep school in a hog stie as in it.”

In order to reconcile the statements of these two contemporary authorities it seems necessary to infer that neatness was not then so near to godliness as has been often affirmed in later times.

In 1674, the master, Mr. Gore, was required to teach all scholars that shall attend belonging to the town, "whether Latin scholars, writers, readers or spellers." About one hundred years later the range of studies pursued was equally wide. From a list on file it appears that there were in 1770, eighty-five scholars, of whom nine were in Latin, twenty cypherers, seventeen writers, ten were in the Testament, ten in the Psalter, nineteen were spellers. In 1728, Eben. Pierpont, master, was informed in reply to a request for instructions, that he need not receive any children for instruction until they can spell "common easy English words either in the Primer or in the Psalter in some good measure."

In 1761, Joseph Warren, who some fourteen years later died gloriously at Bunker Hill, and whose house was standing in my boyhood almost within a stone's throw of the present site of the school, was employed as the teacher. In December of that year he had occasion to remind the Feoffees of the fact in the following letter, which I have copied from the original among the treasurer's papers :

BOSTON, *December, 1761.*

GENTLEMEN :

You may remember that you agreed with me to teach the school in Roxbury for forty-four Pounds sixteen shillings a year, of which I have received of Deacon Gridley twenty-five pounds twelve shillings, of the Rev. Mr. Adams about five Pounds, of the school boys to pay for the carting of wood two Pounds and eight pence, of which by your direction I expended eleven shillings and two pence in buying a Lock, Hooks, Staples and Nails for the repairing of the School House—So that there remains

due to me about Thirteen Pounds, by Payment of which to my Mother or order you will greatly oblige

Gentlemen Your

H. Servant JOSEPH WARREN.

P. S. I am not certain of the particular sums received of the Rev. Mr. Adams, but his Receipts will determine it.

To the Gentlemen intrusted with the care of the School in Roxbury.

This letter or order bears the following indorsement:

Roxbury Dec^r ye 18th 1761. Received of Joseph Williams Esq^r. one of the Feoffees of the free School in the Town of Roxbury The Sum of thirteen pounds six shillings & eight pence in full of the within order, and in full for my son, Mr. Joseph Warren^r keeping the said school I say received

MARY WARREN.

When my personal acquaintance with the school began, with my admission to it at the age of nine years in 1844, the number of scholars was less than half what it had been one hundred years before. Mr. Benjamin Apthorp Gould, since eminent as an astronomer, was the master. An assistant had been employed in the time of his predecessor, Daniel Leach, but I think Mr. Gould had none.

In the documents from which the history of the school is derived I find continual traces of hostility or jealousy more or less prevalent among the people of the town toward the school or its trustees. Within twenty-five years after its foundation John Eliot and Thomas Weld, in their petition to the General Court, say that "some interruption and opposition hath risen." Later at many times during the first two centuries of the school's existence, the trustees were publicly reproached or called to account for their management, as if instruction were not so freely provided for the children of the poorer people as it ought to have been. They always cleared themselves from any direct

charges, but the feeling of jealousy remained. Mr. Parker, then master of the school, who wrote a sketch of its history, which was printed in a pamphlet at Roxbury in 1826,¹ wrote: "Unfortunately for the town and also for the interests of the institution, an invidious prejudice has existed in former years which has prevented many from enjoying its benefits, which prejudice had its origin without doubt, in the circumstance that it was governed by individuals and not by the town. This prejudice has within a few years been nearly dissipated, and it is thought that nothing will tend so effectually to its complete removal as a candid statement of its origin, its history and the principles upon which it has been conducted."

Mr. Parker's candid statement may have done some of the good which he proposed, but it did not obliterate the prejudice, which, though perhaps less violent than formerly, has survived him and will doubtless survive us. This in part caused the failure of the two attempts, one in 1839 and the second in 1852 and continuing for five years, to connect this school with the town school system, but no doubt the unwillingness of the trustees to be in any way hampered in their independence by a connection with the town or city government, tended to make joint action more difficult and a rupture of joint relations easier.

In my time this jealous feeling found expression in a perpetual feud between the town school boys and the Latin school boys, with a good deal of fighting, in single combat or in companies somewhat carefully organized and skilfully led. Once, I remember, we were besieged in our own school-house by a large force of Washington school boys exasperated by some recent occurrence. We were about ready to make a sortie, armed with ball clubs and other weapons of that character, confidently expecting to

¹A Sketch of the History of the Grammar School in the Easterly Part of Roxbury. Compiled from the Original Records of the School by R. G. Parker, A.M., Master of the Upper Department of the School. Roxbury: Printed by Thomas S. Watts, 1828.

defeat and disperse the enemy, who numbered about ten to our one, or to cut our way through and retreat without serious loss, when the higher powers, represented by a selectman and a constable, appeared upon the scene and raised the siege.

Toward the end of Mr. Gould's mastership he was ill for a week or two and sent one of his classmates as a substitute. Then occurred one of the two rebellions which I remember at the school. The scholars did not actually depose the master, for the older boys were shrewd enough to see that that would bring about a crisis. They simply did as they pleased, allowing the master to remain, but paying no more regard to his authority than was needed to prevent him from abdicating or appealing to the trustees. He tried appealing to force, but was quickly made to understand that, if that was the *ultima ratio*, we were better reasoners than he. The temporary master had the form, but not the substance of authority, he reigned but did not govern. The real power was in the hands of a few of the big boys. But the facts soon came to the notice of the trustees and an investigation was followed by the expulsion of three or four boys who deserved it.

This rebellion was followed shortly by an exhibition and an award of prizes. I gained one, I remember, for a translation from the Latin. It was a silver medal, bearing the motto "*Sic itur ad astra*," indicating, I suppose, that, in the judgment of the trustees, the way to the stars for me was by translation, notwithstanding the very few examples in sacred or profane history of the passage being made that way.

The principals of the school in my time (I left it in 1849), were Mr. Gould, Henry B. Wheelwright and Charles Short. Mr. Gould I am sure had the respect and affection of all of us. Mr. Short we knew as an exact and exacting scholar. I think the idea of scholarship in the sense of thorough and precise knowledge first came to us

through him. He was dissatisfied with the versions of the classics published in this country and insisted upon our using as text books copies of foreign editions imported by himself. The revival of learning at this school and the attainment of a high standard of proficiency by its scholars, as tested by comparison with the pupils of other schools in their examinations and work at college, seems to me to have begun with him. I am giving my own impressions only. Mr. Gould might have left the same impression if I had come under his influence later or remained under it longer, but a boy of nine or ten years cannot be expected to think much of scholarship.

To my mind the interesting facts in the history of this school, unquestionably the oldest by far, if not the only free school in this country not supported or aided by the proceeds of public taxation, are its continuity and the wisdom and faithfulness with which its property has been preserved and increased for nearly two hundred and fifty years, with scarcely any additional endowments after the first fifty years. It has lived within, but always up to its income, it has spent nothing in pretentious or stately architecture, but its teachers and scholars have been sheltered as cheaply as was consistent with comfort and reasonable convenience. Some of its trustees did in earlier days receive occasionally small sums for special services, but for more than forty years all their duties have been performed without payment, and not a dollar of the funds has, I believe, ever been spent for banquets or any form of personal gratification to the trustees.

Among the eminent and honored men who have been connected with the school as trustees or teachers, I will mention only a few: John Eliot, whose name should be worth more than a title of nobility to those who bear it, Governors Joseph Dudley and Increase Sumner, William Cushing, Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, the two John Lowells, father and son, Joseph

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Warren, William Emerson, the father of Ralph Waldo, and in our own time the late Rev. George Putnam, besides those who have been mentioned in other parts of this paper. If the school shall live so long as some of these names will be remembered, a posterity more remote in the future than the earliest dawn of history is in the past will be grateful to its founders.

SELECTIONS FROM LETTERS RECEIVED BY DAVID DAGGETT, 1786-1802.

COMMUNICATED BY FRANKLIN B. DEXTER.

THE following extracts are selected from the correspondence of Chief Justice David Daggett, in the possession of the Library of Yale University.

Judge Daggett was born in Attleborough, Mass., in 1764, and was graduated at Yale in 1783. He remained in New Haven, as a student and practitioner of law, and early became prominent as a leader of the Connecticut Federalists.

The first extract presented is from a letter of a classmate on his return from a prospecting tour in the South. He finally settled in Philadelphia.

“BALTIMORE, Oct. 13th, 1786.

* * * I have lived a very roving life, since my last confab with you, and tho' it hath turned out nothing better than barely satiating my curiosity, yet I consider myself richly paid. I find not so great a disparity between the Northern and Southern States as I expected, before I made my tour. I find in them neither rivers of gold nor rocks of diamonds, neither are we fed with the quails of heaven nor with the manna that comes down from above. But the curse is entailed upon the people in this climate as well as in New England—‘with the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread.’

North Carolina which hath been the Elisium of some as has been pretended, is the most wretched place in nature and the poorest State in the Union. Virginia is better, but the inhabitants are a disagreeable set of beings. What militates against the young lads who come this way from Yale and Harvard is that many young professional men came at the end of the war and are still coming out from

Great Britain, Ireland and Scotland, and are establishing themselves in business, to whom greater credit and confidence are given than to Yankees; because they suppose that no man can have a tolerable education in America unless it is completed in Europe. Yale is not known. They suppose in these parts that Boston includes all New-England, and I have been asked repeatedly whether New-England was not in Boston. Nothing but the essence of genius can withstand the torrent of bigotry and prejudice that is in action against the New-Englanders. I conceive that they are jealous of their rights and are fearful that the Northern States will be their Law-Givers. Be that as it may, I think the time is approaching.

With best respects to all friends, I am, Dear Sir, your's affectionately,

CHAS. C. WHITE."

The following is from a letter written by another college acquaintance, Barnabas Bidwell (Yale, 1785), from his home in that region in Western Massachusetts which was just recovering from the experience of Shays's Rebellion :

"TYRINGHAM, June 16th, 1787.

* * * Since I came from New Haven, I have traversed the greatest part of this County and a considerable part of Hampshire; partly for the sake of business, but more in order to gratify my curiosity and gain information concerning the political state of People. I find the majority of the populace have been disaffected to Governmental measures. The Gentlemen of learning & the liberal professions, especially the Clergy, are universally for Government. Debtors are generally on the other side; and this class comprehends more than half of the people. Persons guilty of crimes, or who wish to commit crimes; Rhode Island Emigrants and almost all of the denomination of Baptists; men of warm passions & but little reason; men of fickle minds, fond of every new scheme and proud of an enterprising spirit,—such have pretty generally engaged in the Insurrection. They have been joined by many, who have no attachment to any establishment, but were glad of the commotion, as it gave them something to do. They have also drawn in a large number of boys; and also of the

ignorant, uninformed, but well-meaning common people, who hearing such a dreadful outcry against Government, believed there were some intolerable grievances, although they knew not what. Almost all, with whom I have conversed, acknowledge that they took a wrong method to get redress, by resorting to arms and stopping Courts, when the alterations which they desired might be procured by instructing their Representatives or changing them at the ensuing election. Yet they justify themselves, by censuring the consequent treatment of Government. Artful, designing men have had the address to engage the multitude in their service, and at the same time make them believe they were serving themselves. When this delusion was once effected, the people scorned to give out, especially as they believed the majority, and indeed almost the whole, to be on their side. This mistake was natural. For let any company or any nation be divided, one half for the present establishment, and the other half for something new, yet the talk will be almost all for the change; and consequently a majority will appear to be on that side. At present each party endeavour to triumph, the Friends of Government in the total suppression of the rebel force; & the Malcontents in the change of Administration. Yet if the same is firmly pursued, they will be compleatly baffled, and Government acquire new vigour;—which is the wish of your humble servant,

B. BIDWELL."

The next extract is from the pen of the Rev. Henry Channing (Yale, 1781), a native of Newport, Rhode Island, and the uncle of the Rev. Dr. W. E. Channing of Boston. The convention for framing the Constitution of the United States had risen one week before the date of his letter. He was settled at this time in New London, Connecticut, but was just now spending his honeymoon in Lyme.

"LYME, Sept^r. 28th, 1787.

* * * A word on Politics. What say you to the result of Convention? Mr. [Pierpont] Edwards, I perceive, is enthusiastic in its favour & sanguine in his expectations of its adoption. He tells me your good friend

Chauncey is as he was. He is representative: I cannot think that he is really the representative of the influential. The representation in general is good & I hope that we shall yet see the reestablishment of government. Rhode Island will reject the proposed constitution, for the D——l hath great wrath, knowing that his time is short. They are a truly wretched people & have no prospect of speedy relief, unless there be a union of the other States. In this case I should hope to see them *governed*. You know that I have always been a Friend to government. The Paper money gentry considered me as greatly reprehensible because when at Newport I publicly prayed for & pitied them. I don't know that they considered themselves political apostates for whom prayer ought not to be made. I pity the minority, their situation is truly unhappy; they keep up their spirits and lash with satire. The Herald you doubtless read. The majority call it the Scourge. It indeed makes them bleed and groan. I expect to visit Newport the next week. I intend to go as far in boldness of speech as will consist with the dignity of the Pulpit & the spirit of the Gospole, which is undaunted as well as meek." * * *

Next is a series of extracts from letters of the Hon. Zephaniah Swift (Yale, 1778), of Windham, Connecticut (afterwards Chief Justice of the State), written during the earlier part of his service as a Member of Congress.

"PHILADELPHIA, Dec^r. 31th, 1793.

* * * As to Congress I am hardly ready to give you my sentiments concerning it. I have had such a vast variety of objects to engage my attention, that I have not been able to form any accurate opinion about any thing.

We are accommodated with a very elegant, convenient, and splendid room, but there is much less dignity in our proceedings than I expected. Our Speaker¹ tho' a worthy man has not one Talent for his office. He has no grace, dignity, or propriety in his conduct. He has the German pronunciation and is hardly to be understood when he speaks. He was elected by a cursed Intrigue of the Members from Pennsylvania. The Members do not conduct

¹Hon. Frederick A. Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania.

with much propriety. They form parties round the fire and talk so loud as to disturb those who wish to attend to business, and the speaker has not firmness enough to keep them to order. It is really true that we lose much of our influence by the undignified mode of our conduct. Congress do not conduct with so much dignity, propriety, and good order as a Connecticut House of Representatives. The new Members from Connecticut are yet too modest to take a part in the debates, but I presume that their modesty will wear off in due time.

The conduct of the President is such as merits the support of Congress and the Citizens of the United States. You may be assured that the Connecticut delegation are firm friends to the present administration, but I find in Philadelphia many wild furious mad democrats, who wish to raise the Devil. They are vexed that Congress close their Galleries during their debates upon the confidential communications from the President respecting the Algerines. They call us the Servants and say they are the Masters, but the Servants have had the pleasure to turn their Masters out of doors sundry times. I have no idea of going from Connecticut where the great body of the People are respectable and well informed to have the mob of Philadelphia call me their masters." * * *

"PHILADELPHIA, March 5th, 1794.

* * * You have probably heard of the Vote of the Senate to open their doors the next session. I am fully of opinion that the doors of the Senate ought not to be opened, and yet in the present situation of affairs it became necessary. Much jealousy and enmity had been excited against that Branch of our Legislature in the Southern States by the secrecy of their deliberations, and some in the Senate who were disposed to do mischief had it in their power to attack particular characters, and their misrepresentations could not be counteracted because the transactions were private. In particular some of the Southern took advantage of this to injure the Eastern Members, and there is a great prejudice among the Southern people against the Senators from the Eastward. It was thought that opening the doors of the Senate would remove this ground of jealousy and enmity and take away the power of misrepresentation—that when

the People in the Southern States had a chance to see what the conduct of the Eastern Senators actually was, that they would find them much more deserving their confidence than their own, and that in effect the tables would be turned against the advocates for the measure—that they would lessen in the public estimation, while the characters of the Gentlemen against whom the blow was aimed would rise in proportion. The abilities of the Eastern Members or rather those who have opposed the measure of opening the doors are much the most brilliant, and I suspect the *Senatorial Democrats* will repent of their rashness & folly." * * *

"PHILADELPHIA, April 17th, 1794.

* * * In regard to Sequestration [of British debts] it ought to be considered as a part of a System of Measures pregnant with the deepest Mischief. It is an object with the Virginia Members and many others from the Southern States to cut off all commercial connection with Great Britain. They wish at least to adopt measures that shall defeat a Negotiation. * * * While this measure was under consideration the President sent a Nomination to the Senate of Mr. Jay to be Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Great Britain. * * * Mr. Jefferson was never mentioned here as proposed for an Ambassador. Mr. Hamilton was mentioned, but the Southern Democrats made such rout that it was thought best by Hamilton himself to appoint Mr. Jay against whom one would suppose there could be no objection, and yet the Southern Democrats object. I once mentioned to some of them Mr. Ellsworth, but they objected and declared they had no confidence in him. As you know Mr. Ellsworth you may judge what opinion to form of these people. There is no such thing as conciliation with them. They would not have any confidence in an Angel if he would not avow himself of their party. I wish you could be here a short time to acquire a just idea of Virginia politics. You could not help hating them as ruinous to the country. To detail them would be impossible in a letter. When I see you again I will tell you the whole and you will be convinced that if they should pervade the Union that they would destroy the Government." * * *

"PHILADELPHIA, Nov^r. 11th, 1794.

* * * You intimate that some influential characters in the country are disposed to give an aristocratic tone to our Government. I am sorry to hear a gentleman of your information intimate a suspicion so unfounded and groundless. I am satisfied from the fullest enquiry and the best information that there are no gentlemen of any influence in the United States, that wish to have the principles of Monarchy or Aristocracy introduced into our Government. All the leading characters in administration are strictly Republicans, and wish to give no other tone to our Government than what is necessary to preserve it against that spirit of Jacobinism which under the specious name of Democracy would level all distinctions in Society and destroy the principles of genuine liberty and good Government. It is people of this description who have branded the real friends of order and humanity with the odious epithet of Aristocrats, for the purpose of destroying their influence and laying the foundation for the Government of a mob—the most detestable Government that ever God suffered to vex the human race. But the spirit of Jacobinism is visibly on the decline in this Country. The insurrection in Pennsylvania is the happiest event that ever happened to the United States. It has exhibited Democracy in practice, and even Democrats are frightened with the horrid monster. There is an astonishing change of sentiment among the People here, and the suppression of this insurrection will give the Government of the United States a tone, an energy, and dignity, which will defy all the efforts of Anarchy and Jacobinism. There is no danger of our being involved in the war, and the most glorious prospect is opening before the United States.

You mention that you and Mr. Reeve expect to see a millenium in politics and the utter extinction of Royalty in the course of this generation. It is quite as probable that you will see a Millenium in Religion, and the second coming of Christ to live and rule and reign a thousand years in America, as some visionaries have supposed. The progress of things in France by no means indicates the utter extinction of Royalty in that Country, but only that the sceptre will be transferred to a different family. Some

Individual has governed France in the most absolute manner ever since the murder of Louis. Danton & Robespierre were Kings in effect for a time, and Tallien now reigns. Revolutions will continue till some one takes the helm who has an armed force to defend his throne and crush all opposition. This is the course of things, and there is not the remotest prospect of ever establishing a Republican Government in France." * * *

"PHILADELPHIA, Dec^r. 13th, 1794.

* * * I agree with you in the commendation of the speech of Mr. Ames, but can assure you that the speech published falls infinitely short of the speech actually delivered, both as it respects the elegance of stile, the energy of expression, and the wonderful brilliancy of metaphor, for which Ames has the most copious talents of any man I ever heard speak. To this must be added that beautiful, animated and interesting manner for which he is distinguished and which is wholly lost in reading. Indeed it was the most sublime and eloquent harangue which I ever heard, and Ames is the most accomplished orator in the United States. The great Maddison, who has acquired so much undeserved celebrity, spoke the day following. He had full time to collect his ideas, arrange his arguments, and round his periods; but I assure you he is a child in comparison with Ames. A hollow, feeble voice,—an awkward, uninteresting manner,—a correct stile without energy or copiousness,—are his distinguishing traits; tho' correct in expression and solid in judgment, yet he is wholly destitute of vigour of genius, ardour of mind, and brilliancy of imagination. He has no fire, no enthusiasm, no animation; but he has infinite prudence and industry, the greatest apparent candor, he calculates upon everything with the greatest nicety and precision; he has unquestionably the most personal influence of any man in the house of Representatives. I never knew a man that better understood to husband a character and make the most of his talents; and he is the most artificial, studied character on earth." * * *

The following extract from a letter of a townsman of Judge Daggett, William Bristol, Esq. (Yale, 1798), illus-

trates the feeling of good Federalists toward John Adams in the last year of his Presidency :

“ NEW HAVEN, June 30th, 1800.

Our President came in town on his Journey to Massachusetts on Saturday, & has not yet gone on. There have been no congratulatory addresses ; no ringing of Bells ; no firing of Cannon ; & I believe very little rejoicing at his *advent*. He went to the Chapel yesterday in the forenoon ; & to resemble his Predecessor in office, *in one particular*, staid at home in the afternoon. Mr. [Pierpont] Edwards is the only Person that, I have yet learned, has visited him. The President tells him that *Mr. Pickering* opposed him in every measure of administration & that it was necessary for himself to give up *his* office or that Mr. Pickering should surrender his. That in his opinion it would be more convenient to the interest of the Public that Mr. P should give up first, &c., &c. All this *may* be true ; but, *credat Judaeus Apella.*” * * *

In 1800 Judge Daggett’s classmate and most intimate friend, John Cotton Smith, afterwards Governor of the State, was sent to Congress ; a few extracts from his early letters are here given :

“ WASHINGTON, 18. Dec^r., 1800.

* * * The votes of Kentucky & Tennessee have not arrived. But the Jacobins *shudder at the sure & certain prospect of their being unanimous for Jefferson & Burr*,—in which case probably the election will devolve upon this house. Their civility to us poor federalists becomes every hour more conspicuous. They are sure, they say, we shall prefer Mr. Jefferson ; at any rate they are confident we shall be willing to gratify them in the choice, as they most assuredly would have been thus polite & accommodating to us if Adams & Pinckney had been placed in a similar situation. We tell them the alternative is indeed dreadful, but as we have always been inclined towards an efficient administration, so the man of the two who shall be found to possess the most energy of character, the man most *practical & least visionary*, must undoubtedly be preferred. In short the only consolation left us, a horrid one it is true,

consists in boring these fellows; and you may be assured that all we have suffered, all that we can suffer, at the loss of our hopes is not to be compared with their *apparent* distress at the present position of business.

But, seriously, a powerful interest is making for the *parvus homo* [*i. e.* Burr] in the event of an equivote; and strange as it may seem, the thing becomes daily more plausible to our most sober & respectable members. I give no opinion, but I shall be gratified with yours." * * *

" WASHINGTON, 1. Jany., 1801.

* * * I trust you will approve the plan here proposed to worm ourselves out of the vast political embarrassment under which we labor. It seems now the undivided sentiment among federalists in the house & indeed in the surrounding country, to oust Jefferson of the Presidency *at all hazards*. We will support Burr, and if the Jacobins were serious & sincere in offering him to the people, they will, a sufficient number of them at least, join us. Otherwise let them take on themselves the responsibility of an interregnum. The federal part of the house have not yet held a *caucus*, but that we shall come to such a conclusion & invariably adhere to it when formed, I think there is little doubt." * * *

" WASHINGTON, 13. Jany., 1801.

* * * We are waiting anxiously for the 2nd Wednesday of Feb'y. There is a certain '*fearful looking for*' pictured on the countenances of both parties which can admit of no description. Circumstances favorable to B[urr]'s election multiply daily. This project, at once abhorred and supported by all good federalists, is fast ripening for execution. I received last evening a letter from Judge Reeve¹ on this subject which ought to be printed in letters of gold. His discernment surmounts all prejudice, and his enlightened conception of the policy of the measure has enabled him to subdue his abhorrence of the man. It is playing a deep & hazardous game, but if we ALL STAND OUR HANDS I trust the issue will be such as our country & Heaven itself shall approve." * * *

¹ Brother-in-law of Burr.

“ WASHINGTON, 2. March, 1801.

* * * * This city already exhibits a sad spectacle of depravity. I much doubt whether more of those vices which go equally to the destruction of all private & social happiness have been practiced in any capital town on the continent the last three months than in this same dismal metropolis. Gambling in all its forms and debauchery of every species have prevailed to a degree that must alarm & afflict every reflecting mind. The want of elegant amusements has been attempted to be supplied by the indulgence of the most gross & beastly appetites. ‘If these things are done in the green tree what will be done in the dry?’ * * * A project has been on foot to remove back to Philadelphia; it is now abandoned. In truth this place is good enough for the men shortly to be in power, & the farther they are separated from our country, the better our chance to preserve entire the principles & habits of the only uncorrupted portion of the nation.

You no doubt have expected that in the course of this long, and I fear tedious letter, something should be said of the new executive, the new chief justice, &c., &c. A volume would be required to pourtray the public sins & private follies of the former. There are more ridiculous traits in his character than you would believe were I to attempt the delineation of them. The latter deserves all that has been said of his talents, but he is equally destitute of firmness & the least dignity of manners.” * * *

“ WASHINGTON, 7. Decr., 1801,

A quorum of the two houses have assembled. * * * A joint committee are now waiting on the President of U. S. to inform him of the readiness of the legislature to receive his communications. Report says NO SPEECH TO BE DELIVERED, but that a *written message* will be sent us tomorrow. The truth of this rumour will probably be ascertained by the return of the committee.

The committee have this moment returned & their report confirms the above statement. Every one will make his own comment on this unprecedented procedure. However I may admire the pusillanimous caution of the measure, I do not hesitate to pronounce it a most outrageous indignity offered to the National legislature.

Whenever the *written thing* shall make its appearance it shall be forwarded to you." * * *

The closing extract of this series is from a letter of the same correspondent, written during the discussions in the House on the Judiciary Bill :

“WASHINGTON, 20. Feby., 1802.

* * * I am doubtful whether the discussion of this subject will close even with the next week ; its magnitude and importance seem to increase as its fatal issue approaches. Our side of the house have hitherto appeared to infinite advantage.—but there is no possibility of preventing the passage of the bill. No human means can avert the deadly blow from the victim. The constitution must be immolated. This measure alone might not absolutely destroy the government, but it is only the precursor of other & more fatal attacks. Every day discloses facts which leave no room for conjecture on this point. What then is to be done?— Shall we, who have made every possible exertion to stop the progress of vandalism, *remain here* to witness its triumphs? This is a solemn question, and requires much deliberation.” * * *

EXPLORATIONS IN YUCATAN.

BY EDWARD H. THOMPSON.

AT the time of the appointment of Mr. Edward H. Thompson as United States Consul at Merida, the hope was confidently entertained that he would be able to explore and bring to light some of the many ruins which still lie hidden in the interior of Yucatan. Notwithstanding the limited time which Mr. Thompson has held this position,—a time hardly sufficient for him to familiarize himself with the language and customs of a people and country new to him,—this hope has been already realized.

In the interesting article by Mr. Thompson, which was read at the last meeting of the Society, upon the general subject of archaeological research in Yucatan, he expressed the hope that he would be able before many months to submit the results of an exploration of the ruins of Labna. Since that time Mr. Thompson has been enabled to carry out the purpose thus expressed, and a valuable account of this expedition, in the form of a diary, has recently been received.

In reading the story of this exploration we can but be astonished as much by the great number of the ruins of Yucatan as by their vastness, and by the elaborateness of sculptured work lavished upon them. In few parts of the world are clearer indications given by ancient remains of a dense population, and of the power of priests and rulers to concentrate the energies of a nation upon great public works. Mr. Thompson's especial object in his expedition was to attempt the reproduction, on a much larger scale than had before been tried, of the façade of one of the buildings in some one of the ruined cities. By the use of paper moulds from which could be made casts in plaster of sections of a building he hoped to be able to place before us in plaster casts the entire front of the structure as it stands to-day with a fidelity to nature which could be attained in no other manner. Great perseverance and much ingenuity in the face of unforeseen obstacles were necessary to carry out such a design, and even had his idea failed of completion he would have won great credit for himself. It is pleasant, however, to be able to say that his object has been very successfully accomplished, and we may hope before long to see its visible evidence.

His skill as a photographer has also been effectively shown in the twenty illustrative photographs which were forwarded to the Society with Mr. Thompson's article. These views, taken during the progress of his work, show a high degree of artistic ability, the more creditable

for being taken under such disadvantageous circumstances. They show also, better than any description can do, how the luxuriance of tropical vegetation must have delayed him at every step.

The diary which Mr. Thompson has sent was written hastily during the progress of the work, and covers thirty-five foolscap pages. While much of this space is given up to a detailed statement of each day's work it yet describes truly and vigorously the difficulties which lay in his way and the successful carrying out of his purpose.

The following abstract of the diary has been prepared by Mr. Reuben Colton, and is by him communicated to the Society:—

THE region of my explorations is not in itself of sufficient importance for a special visit, as it contains now only shapeless mounds and fragments of hewn stones, but it is one of those places always interesting to pass through, and I have never yet found a ruin or fragment of a ruin from which I could not glean something new and interesting. At Tabi, my last point of contact with civilization, I found that Señor Antonio Fajardo had, with his accustomed energy and kindness, carried out all my wishes in a most effective manner. Men, horses, pack-mules and the stores previously forwarded were in readiness.

Upon my arrival at Labna some of the men were at once employed making ladders to be used in the coming work, while others cleared a suitable spot for the encampment, unpacked the animals, and began to hunt up the ramon trees, from whose succulent leaves and twigs the horses and mules of this region get their chief sustenance. With a native to help carry my measuring line and apparatus I began the examination of one of the best preserved of the edifices. Most of the chambers are unconnected. There are, however, several double chambers, one of which is generally placed at the extreme end of, and at right angles to, the other; the two forming a T more or less perfect in shape. I have found within each apartment of these double chambers two curious recesses or secret chambers. These recesses are entered by a small square opening raised about five feet from the floor. This entrance appeared at first sight to indicate that one of the stones

from the wall had fallen out, and I have no doubt that by means of such an artful device these entrances were filled and their existence was thus kept secret. Through so small an opening I had great difficulty in forcing an entrance. By dint of much pushing from behind I managed to get my body into and through the narrow passage, and found myself in a miniature chamber. At the end of this was an entrance to a second chamber placed at right angles to the first. Thus was formed a double chamber, the counterpart in miniature of the larger one. These miniature apartments (they were scarcely large enough to hold one person) were in an absolutely perfect state of preservation. The beautifully smooth hard finish of walls and arched ceiling showed no signs of the wear of time, and I doubt if there exists in Yucatan a more perfect example of Maya mason work than these secret chambers at Labna. I must confess to much disappointment upon finding them to be entirely empty.

The façade of which I am about to take the mould was not only elaborately sculptured and symmetrically finished but upon it a story is told. This fact is none the less patent because we cannot as yet decipher it. The huge serpent symbol with its inscriptions placed directly over the principal apartments of the edifice, the curiously costumed statues carved in stone, and the wide stretched dragon's jaws grasping a human head, I do not believe were combined with a view to artistical effect alone but were intended to convey some definite page of human history, or some narrative of a nature important to those times.

In the chambers of the upper terrace I find painted upon the apex of the arched ceiling some almost illegible characters. They are of a deep sea-green color but so mutilated by the destruction of the cement upon which they are painted that decipherment is impossible. These are the only traces of mural paintings that I have been able to

discover, and I regret very much their almost complete destruction.

I find myself very much perplexed over the origin of the sculptured figures upon the façade of which I am making the moulds. On one hand, certain circumstances seem to favor the idea that it is a symbol of the serpent god modified by custom and the lapse of ages until at last a simple combination of head and curving tail served to symbolize the great winged serpent. On the other hand, there are reasons for believing that these figures were intended as symbols of some pachyderm, a mammoth, elephant, or tapir. The tapir, *danta*, was certainly known to the race that built these ruins, as he still inhabits the water-courses of Yucatan and Guatemala. Between the above mentioned symbolical figure and the so-called elephant's trunk adornment, many intermediary forms exist; it is not hard to discover that they are only variations from the original figure.

During Mr. Thompson's stay at Labna he made an examination of one of the underground reservoirs similar to those at Chichen-Itza which Stephens has described. He gives the following account of his experiences:

After determining by sundry experiments that the mephitic gas had not accumulated within, I looped a rope around my waist and with candles in hand and my machete between my teeth in readiness for the sudden appearance of python or cascabel, serpents which delight to frequent such cavities, I was slowly lowered until my feet touched a solid floor covered with débris. I found myself in a subterranean chamber similar in appearance and in form to the chambers of the ruins, differing only in the entire absence of the cavities that in the upper chambers once held wooden cross-beams, and lacking also the extra thick coating of the cement that overlaid the courses of square stones. After having thoroughly but vainly searched the rubbish deposited upon the floor for any object that might have been left

there by those who were once its owners, I gave the signal and was laboriously drawn up to the surface and daylight once more. The reservoir is in such a state of preservation that all injury caused by time could be easily and quickly repaired.

I find in these edifices proofs conclusive to my mind that they are not the finished product of one architectural mind, but that the different portions were built at periods of time widely separated. In following out their plans the builders of one period seem to have had but little regard for those who preceded them, and when the two plans conflicted the later builders did not hesitate to convert a portion of a richly ornamented façade into an unimportant wall or else to bury it altogether beneath cement and other material. That the periods of construction were widely separated seems to me proved by the fact that various portions of plinths and ornaments which I found imbedded in the masonry were weather-worn in a marked degree. More than this, I do not believe the building was fully completed when for some unknown cause the inhabitants were presumably forced to abandon their labors and perhaps in fact to lay down their lives in its defence. From the form of that portion of the building which is completed, and the appearance of the adjoining terraces, I am of the opinion that the intention was to continue the edifice as a facing to the terraced mound until by its junction with the portion now standing a finished edifice would result bearing in its outline a close resemblance to the *tau*.

The most interesting part of Mr. Thompson's narrative is that in which he describes his visit to a collection of ruins hitherto unmentioned.

I have found the ruined city of Chun Cat Jin. After long and tedious labor cutting our way through forest and jungle we found ourselves among ruins which have never before been seen by white men, or if seen no record was made of the visit. In naming these ruins I have followed

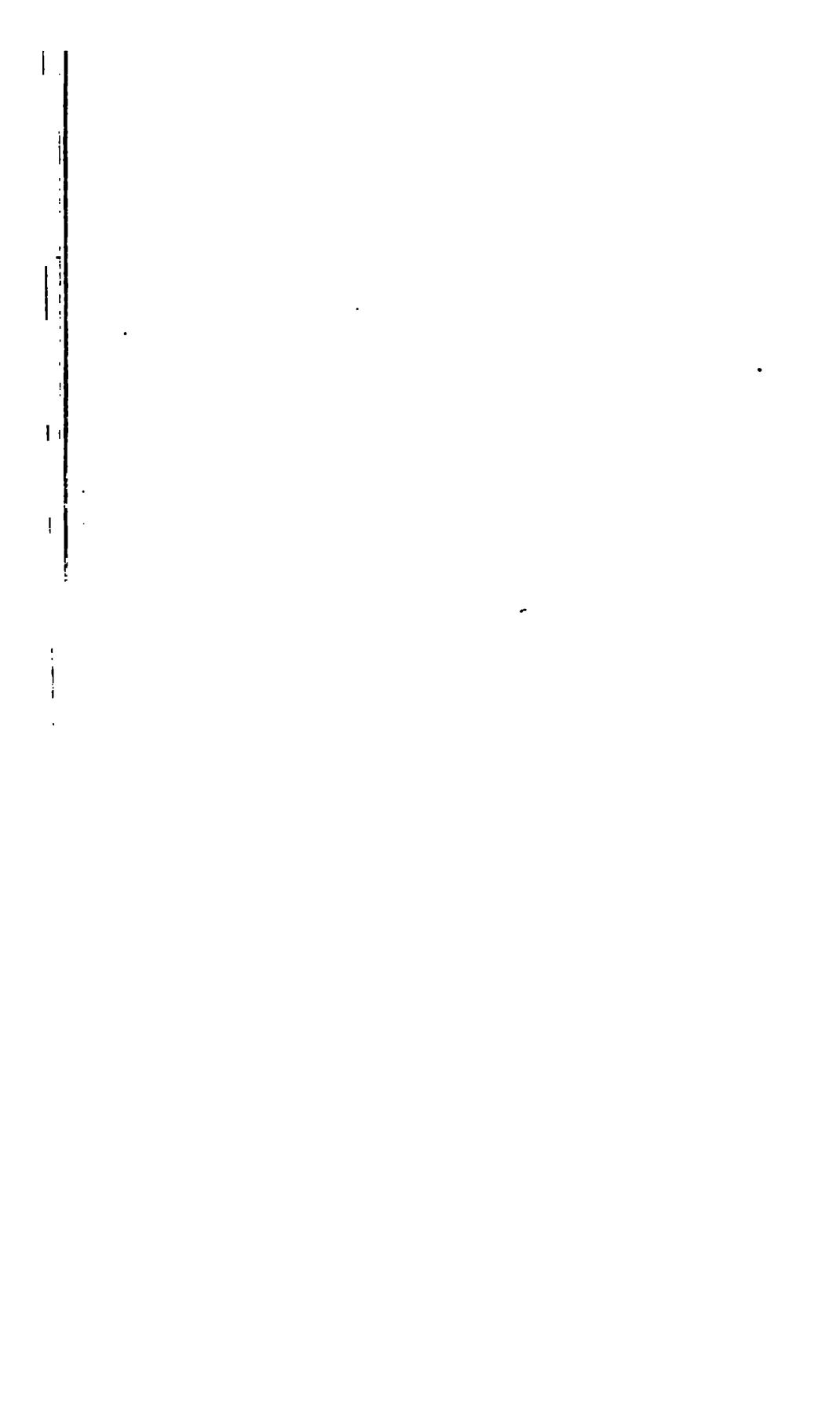
the idea of my native guide, and have chosen to designate them by the term Chun Cat *jin*; a free translation being "By the trunk of the great Cat *jin* tree."

The ruins are about a league's distance from Labna, in a north-east direction. The country around seemed to be covered with mounds, confused heaps of carved stones and pillars, evidence of long continued and populous occupation. The building of which I have taken photographs and measurements, is, however, in a comparatively good state of preservation, and a description of its general appearance may be of interest. The façade faces north-west and has a length of ninety-two feet. The edifice was built upon the platform of a low double-terraced mound, the dimensions of which I should judge to have been when perfect one hundred and thirty feet long by forty-five wide. The building has now four apartments and appearances indicate the former existence of a fifth. The first of these rooms has a length of nineteen feet, a width of nine feet seven inches, and a height from floor to apex of arched ceiling of fifteen feet. The next two rooms closely resemble the first. The fourth being formed by a retaining wall has the appearance of a vertical bi-section of an arched chamber, placed at right angles to the adjoining chamber. This building differs from many in having its rear wall ornamented less elaborately than the front, the pilastered ornaments being arranged very simply but in a manner very pleasing to the eye.

Directly in the rear and almost touching this building rises a terraced mound densely overgrown and covered with débris. Time did not allow me to seek for the edifice which I believe must have once surmounted it, but from the outcroppings of stone I am inclined to believe that this was once a natural elevation formed by artificial means into a terraced mound.

I never left a collection of ruins with more reluctance than I did those of Chun Cat *jin*. Appearances warranted

me in believing that this was once a place of some magnitude, and that within the savanna around me or close to the base of the surrounding hills I should find other buildings belonging to this group, of greater importance than the one I photographed upon this visit. A due regard for the interests of the object for which the expedition was undertaken compelled me to return to Labna in order to hasten my work. Besides, this toiling through a league or more of dense and thorn-covered growth had nearly deprived me of all clothing save my tigerskin leggings. My deerskin shoes had given out under the effect of sharp stones and sharper spines and my feet were bleeding in many places. For these reasons I had to content myself with being able simply to record the discovery of these ruins and the beginning of my work there. I hope to return this same season, if possible, and finish the exploration and investigation of a region which I am convinced contains so much of interest and value to the archaeologist and scholar.



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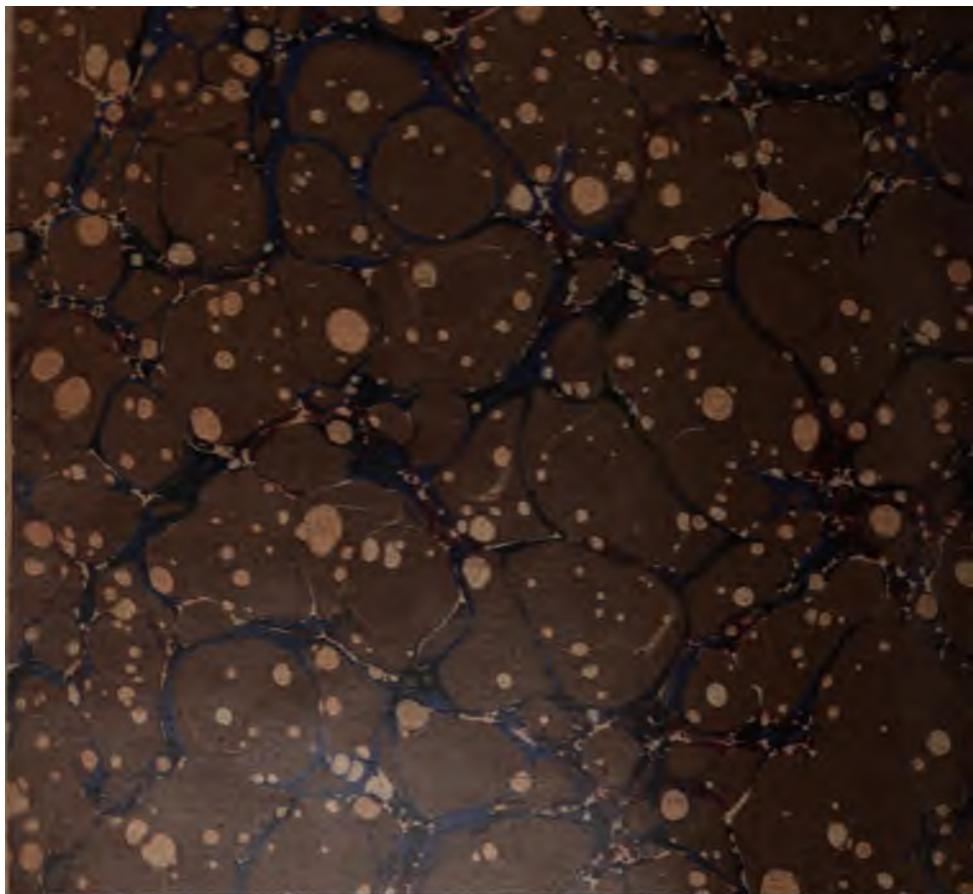
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